DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 180 886 SO 012 254

TITLE	Resource Supplement of Student Materials for Six Teaching Units for Secondary Schools.
INSTITUTION	Livonia Public Schools, Mich.
SPONS AGENCY	Office of Education (DHEW), Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE	78
NOTE	131p.; For a related document, see SO 012 253
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC06 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	*Arabs; Charts; *Cultural Awareness; *Ethnic Studies; Instructional Materials; Islamic Culture; Maps; Resource Guides; Resource Materials; Secondary Education; *Social Studies
IDENTIFIERS	Ethnic Heritage Studies Program Act

ABSTRACT

This materials package supplements a high school level social studies curriculum unit on Arab American culture and the contributions of Arabs to development of the United States (SO 012 253). The duplicated materials are presented in six categories--the family, geography of the Middle East, Arab history and its contribution to the West, immigration, Islam, and economic/political issues including Arab/Israeli conflicts and oil. Materials include maps, charts, background information, literary selections, film directories, bibliographic annotations, worksheets, vocabulary sheets, case studies, and discussion questions. In the table of contents for each category, entries are coded according to whether the materials are presented in duplicated form in the section or whether they need to be purchased, borrowed, or rented by the school. Emphasis is placed on presenting information about the diversity of the Arab world and on eliminating stereotypic images of Arab history, culture, politics, and behavior. (DB)

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Ethnic Heritage Studies
Pertaining to Arabic Culture

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Resource Supplement of Student Materials
for
Six Teaching Units for Secondary Schools

SO 012 254

Developed by the Livonia Public Schools School District
with a Grant from the U.S. Office of Education

use

RESOURCE SUPPLEMENT OF STUDENT MATERIALS

Ethnic Heritage Studies Pertaining to Arabic Culture:
Six Teaching Units for Secondary Schools

This supplement (curriculum package) is to be used in conjunction with the publication Ethnic Heritage Studies Pertaining to Arabic Culture developed by the Livonia Public Schools School District with a grant from the U.S. Office of Education. The six teaching units: Family, Geography, Arab History, Immigration, Islam, and Issues, were designed to include films, classroom sets of books, student handouts, and student reference materials.

Materials which were duplicated for use with the Six Teaching Units for Secondary Schools are in this resource supplement. A list of materials is included for each unit and information may be found within each separate unit in the teacher guide.

The distributors for films listed are in the Cinematic Guide to the Middle East found in Appendix A of the Six Teaching Units.

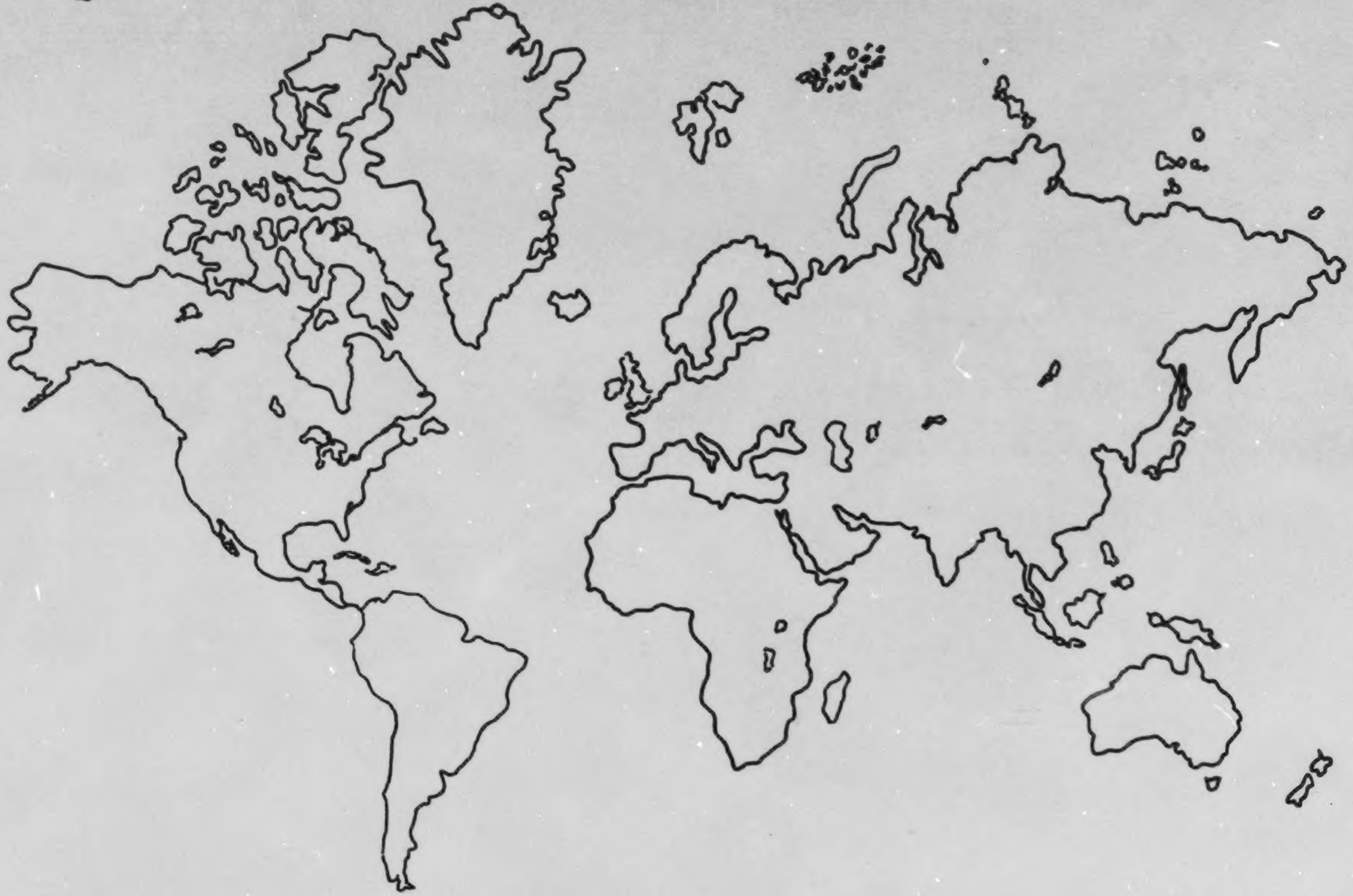
FAMILY

1. World outline map and/or Middle East outline map.*
2. Gift of Islam or The Arab: Who Is He? *Films*
3. Arab World: Focus on Diversity, Jane Antoun.#
4. Egyptian Village or Arab Village or Egyptian Villager. *Films*
5. Life in an Oasis or Life of Nomad People. *Films*
6. Chart for Family Roles.*
7. "The Status of Women in the Arab World."*
8. "Women in the Arab World."*
9. Chart "Westernization of Arab Women."*

* = Student materials located in this section

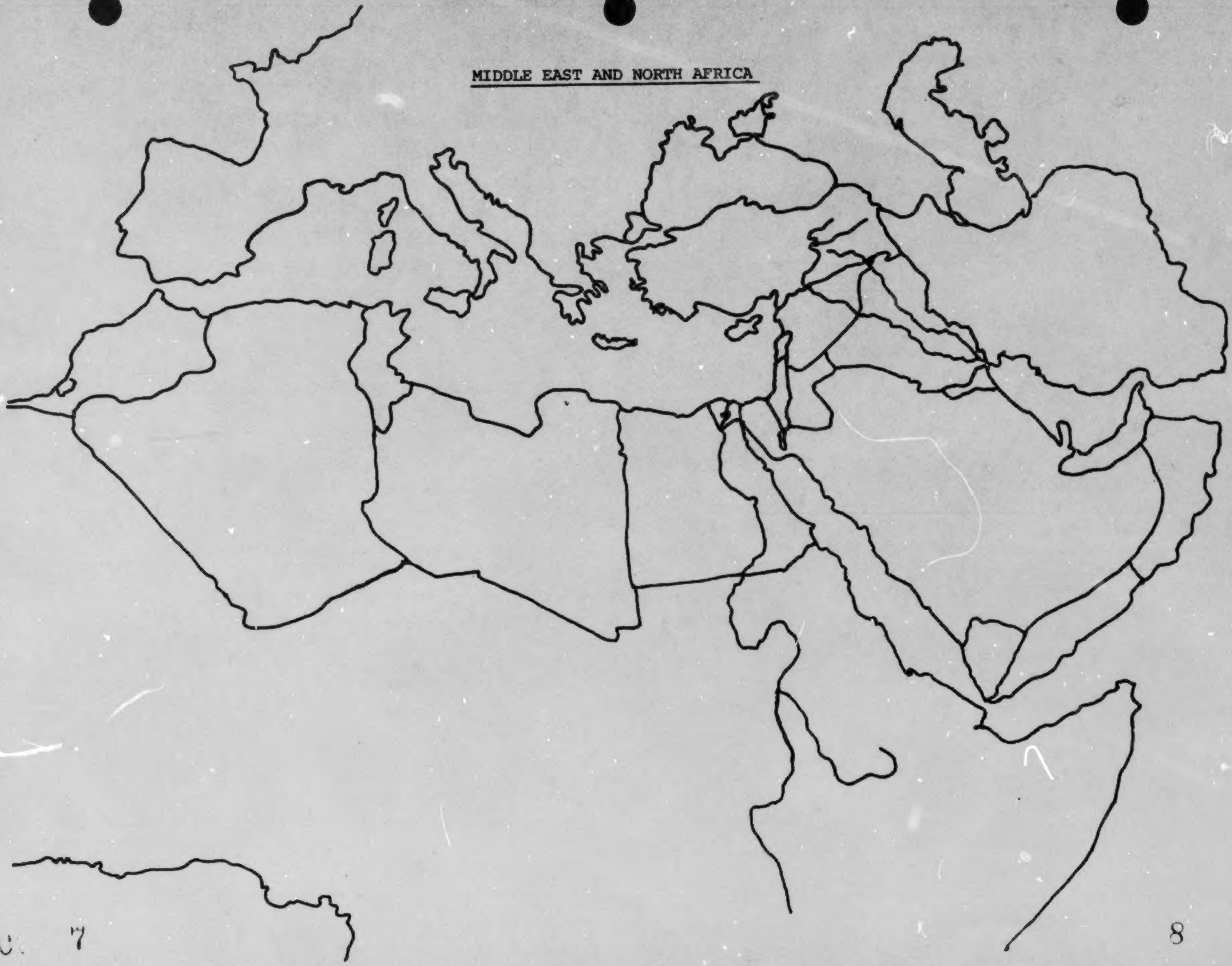
# = Needs to be acquired by the school using these teaching units

Film = Films listed in the Cinematic Guide to the Middle East



Draw lines of ancestral immigration from old country to new

MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA



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NAME________________

HOUR__________

CHART FOR ROLES OF FAMILY MEMBERS

	URBAN	VILLAGE	OASIS	NOMAD
WOMEN				
MEN				
GIRLS				
BOYS				

THE STATUS OF WOMEN IN THE ARAB WORLD

The subject of the status of women in the Arab world is not an easy one to discuss. It would indeed take months of field study and direct observation to speak with any authority on the status of women in such a vast geographic area as the Arab world, encompassing twenty Arab states. For despite the unifying influence of Islamic law which governs or influences the codes of personal status in most Muslim countries, and despite the fact that Arab societies share basically a common heritage, common culture and common traditions, the fact remains that within such unity there is diversity in background, in social experience, and in the degree of modernization reached in each particular society. Such diversity is naturally reflected in the differences in the status of women throughout the Arab world.

Nevertheless, I shall try to present a more or less general picture of the situation in the Arab world today, and to discuss some of the attempts being made at the private as well as the governmental level to improve the lot of Arab women and to help them integrate in the various sectors of national development.

It would perhaps be advisable to begin by clearing up some misconceptions about the Arab woman, one whose culture is based on the Islamic tradition.

In many Western minds, the world of the Arab woman is related to three things--the veil, seclusion and polygamy, all of which are laid at the door of Islam. Since by and large, whatever progress Arab women achieve is in harmony with their belief and not in conflict with it, it is important, at this point, to discuss briefly the position of women in Islam.

I submit that Islam has been a liberalizing force, and is in no way responsible for the state of the inferior position of women in certain societies today. In order to properly assess the effect of Islam on the status of Arab women, one must go back to pre-Islamic conditions. As historians tell us, women in pagen Arabia and similar communities were considered by men to be accessories and possessions that could be bought, sold and inherited. Multiple marriage was quite customary among the pagan Arab as well as earlier communities. Furthermore, some Arab tribes in those days went even further in their bigotry: they buried alive their unwanted female children. In a very few years, by a succession of decisive blows, Islam succeed in destroying this state of affairs.

Let us consider the achievement of Islam in advancing the status of women.

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It recognized her as an independent being and gave her what was then, and is still considered to be, a liberal bill of rights and responsibilities.

It established her legal personality and allowed her to keep her family name after marriage.

It granted her the right to own property and to dispose of it freely as she wished, without the intermediary of a husband or male guardian. And this at a time when, in Europe, no female could own property in her own right, nor could she freely dispose of her possessions without the consent of her male guardian!

Islam went even further--it allowed woman to become herself a guardian over minors.

It also granted her the right to undertake trade, commerce, engage in any profession, and sue others in court without having to secure her husband's approval. Under Islamic law, a married woman continues to enjoy full legal capacity, and does not lose, as a result of marriage, any of the rights that she possesses as an individual member of society. Her individuality does not merge into that of her husband's. In short, Islam guarantees women basic equality with men.

It is true that Islam legislated that a woman inherits from her parents the equivalent of only half of her brother's share. This aspect of the law of inheritance is not discriminatory against women however, for under Islamic law, a woman is not required to spend of her personal income to support her husband and children. The bridegroom is required to pay the bride a dowry relative to his and her social position to enable her to set up her home,and, religious precepts aside, traditionally her father supplements this dowry with a sizeable sum for the same purpose.

As far as the veil and seclusion are concerned, neither Islam, nor pre-Islamic Arabia are responsible for that. Women in Arabia were not segregated; in fact they engaged in trade and even fought side by side with men. Islam did not put restrictions on women's participation in public life, nor did it deny them the right to work. Seclusion, the veil and the harem were customs borrowed from Byzantine and Persian societies at a much later date. In fact, when the conquering Arab tribes entered Syria, they encountered veiled Christian women! The veil was a symbol of the upper class, aristocratic woman, not a sign of inferiority. It was adopted as a mark of distinction of well-to-do women; the bedouin women in North Africa and the peasant women in Egypt have never worn the veil. The Qur'anic chapter relating to hijab refers to the family of the Prophet himself, suggesting privacy and withdrawal.

THE STATUS OF WOMEN IN THE ARAB WORLD - cont.

In the early years of Islam, women enjoyed the freedom and equality guaranteed to them by their religion, particularly in the pursuit of knowledge. Since in Islam, knowledge along with piety are considered to be the highest mark of distinction, Muslims during the early centuries developed a unique educational system that prevailed in all parts of the Middle East from the seventh century onward. Women did partake of such education, though not in a formal way, and there were women who excelled in knowledge and whose opinion was sought regarding matter of law, literature and politics.[1] Many distinguished themselves in the field of Jurisprudence. Some sects, notably the Khawarij, allowed women to perform the duties of judgeship, the most prestigious job in Islam.

But as Islamic culture and civilization declined, so did every aspect of public life. Law became rigid; certain provisions of Qur'an were interpreted in such a way as to relegate women to an inferior position. Their education was considered undesirable, and women came gradually to be looked upon as objects of ornament. They were secluded, and were denied participation in public life. Later, women continued to share with men the responsibilities of everyday life--raising children, managing homes, taking care of the family, working in outdoor or in home industries--yet they were never allowed to join in community affairs, although their activities affected those affairs directly or indirectly.

One must guard, however, against deducing from the above that women held inferior positions in the family. As many an astute observer of bedouin and rural communities has noted, neither the lack of formal education, nor seclusion have ever prevented Arab women from acquiring a dominant position in the family or exerting a considerable influence in domestic and social affairs.

As the Arab world embarked on the movement toward modernization, public-spirited men and women realized that their society could not achieve real progress with nearly half the population in prison, spiritually and intellectually.

The movement for the emancipation of women started late in the nineteenth century, although Arab women did not achieve a notable change in their status until the twentieth. The first advocate of femal emancipation was a well-known Muslim reformer Jamal al-Din al-Afghani, who promoted progressive ideas, stressing that women possessed the same intellectual capacities as men.

He was followed by a liberal Egyptian, Qasim Amin, who had realized that the emancipation of women was an essential prerequisite for the social and political development of Egypt. His books The Emancipation of Women and The New Woman are landmarks in the history of the women's liberation movement in the Arab world.

Amin's defense of women met with strong opposition from conservative quarters, but the case for women's emancipation began to receive a hearing in many parts of the Arab world. Governments became increasingly aware of the important relationship between the education of women and modernization. Some governments, notably those of Egypt, Iraq, Jordan and Syria have in recent years made significant attempts to deal with the problem. Meanwhile, women were not passive observers. Toward the end of the last century, a woman writer by the name of Bahithat el-Badiyah fought for compulsory education. By the turn of the century, there was a small group of educated women in various parts of the Arab world, and a few women's magazines appeared on the scene. So, although women were still veiled and secluded, they played their role in the battle for education, as they were later to participate in the movement for national independence.

One should also not underestimate the part that various women played indirectly in public life through their influence on their husbands and children. A notable example is the wife of the Egyptian national leader Saad Zaghloul, a woman of extraordinary ability.

The rise of nationalism and the movements for independence were important factors promoting the emancipation of women. As in the case of many reform movements, the cause of women's liberation was closely allied to the twentieth century struggle for independence. After the First World War, when nationalistic feeling reinvigorated the Arab peoples, women made notable strides toward equal rights with men, and they participated with the latter in their effort to eradicate colonial domination.

In Egypt, in 1919, the first suffragettes, still wearing the veil, appeared in public to demonstrate against the British occupation forces who had threatened to shoot at public protest gatherings. By spearheading the men's procession, and facing British guns, the suffragettes won the day for their country and offset the British ultimatum. Afterwards, Egyptian women picketed government building and British stores, and organized a successful boycott of British goods.

STATUS OF WOMEN IN THE ARAB WORLD - cont.

Many years later, in Lebanon, women marched through the streets of Beirut to protest against the arrest of leading Lebanese political figures by the French mandatory government on November 11, 1943.

The role that the Algerian women played in the struggle for Algerian independence is well-known. Women were also active in the liberation movement of Southern Yemen, and last but not least, the Palestinian women, especially after 1967, have been very active in the movement for the liberation of their land. Leila Khaled, although perhaps the most known to the Western public, is only one of many. One should also mention the various women's organizations now active in Lebanon and other Arab countries in the struggle against Israeli occupation of Palestine and other Arab land.

As the Arab world threw off the yoke of foreign rule, Arab women have enjoyed new opportunities which they seized to achieve yet more success in various fields toward the total liberation of women from the shackles of the past.

In 1922, when Egypt won partial independence, girls insisted on being educated. They were sometimes supported by their fathers and liberal brothers, while at other times they met with bitter opposition from their brothers and the mother. But they used all the means at their disposal: if reason and persuasion failed, then hunger-strikes and anger; if all these failed, then mere defiance, if they had the means to do so without having to rely financially on the family. And it worked! Today in the Middle East not only families, but entire nations give women's education the highest priority, and education through most of the Arab world is free of charge.

In Egypt, education for girls is not only free, but compulsory for nine years. In other countries, it is compulsory for perhaps fewer years, enough to qualify them for vocational schools. Lebanon does not have compulsory education, but there, as in various Arab countries, universal primary education has been achieved.

The results throughout the Middle East are impressive. Of the some four hundred thousand students in the national universities, at least 25 per cent are girls. In Egypt, the percentage is nearly one-third. They form more than fifty per cent of the students in Arts and Humanities, forty per cent of the medical students, and there are now a number of girls in the faculty of engineering. Furthermore, the girls are good students, and often present tough competition to the males.

Overall, the rate of women's enrollment throughout the Arab world is growing at all levels of education faster than that of men.[2]

Impact of Social Change on Arab Families & the Status of Women.

At the present, the Arab family is, and will continue for several years to come, to be going through a transitional period where many of its long-traditional values, attitudes and life styles are being changed gradually in an attempt to cope with, and adapt to the powerful influence of industrialization and urbanization. While the basic features of traditional society were compatible with an agricultural way of life, as Arab countries become industrialized, new social demands emerge, affecting the traditional features of the Arab family system.

In the last two decades, industrialization and urbanization have been expanding throughout the Arab world in varying degrees. Technological development, spread of mass communication and improvement of transportation facilities have brought about fundamental changes in the Arab society, which affected, in turn, both the family and the way of life of the rural communities with far-reaching consequences. Remote farmlands and deserts are no more out of governmental control. The urban concepts of law, state, and morality are replacing the traditional villagers' code of conduct and identification, a fact which has relieved women from the tyranny of the male members of the family, exercised in the name of family honor.

The impact of social change in general, and industrialization in particular, has affected the status of Arab women in many ways. The growth of factories and large-scale business organizations, and the shift of work from home to the factory, have altered the life style of the family and the occupational roles of its members. Gradually, the extended family style is disappearing from the scene of countries like Egypt, Lebanon and Tunisia. This should affect the personality of the wife, who should feel more independent, and more confident in a house of her own, with only the immediate family around. One important factor which has helped improve the status of Arab women is their increasing participation in professional careers and service. Not many years ago, the idea of a well-to-do Arab girl going to work was shocking. Even when the parents were liberal enough to send their daughters to college, they were not allowed to work after they had acquired degrees. Now most women want to work, and most of those who want to do so, are not opposed.

This situation has affected the emphasis on the choice of mate. In the past, a man looked for a good wife, or good housekeeper who could raise the children and take good care of the house, or he simply looked for a beautiful wife. A woman, on the other hand, sought a man who was a good provider. Today the picture is different. With the spread of education at various levels, the availability of working opportunities for women and the increasing emphasis on individual rights in the Arab world, the Arab woman has advanced several steps toward a more egalitarian relationship with man both in the home and in society. The emphasis on the choice of mate is now on companionship and the sharing of responsibilities. The attitude of both men and women and their parents has changed markedly.

A few years ago, a study conducted by an Egyptian sociology professor among university coeds in Cairo, revealed that 88 per cent generally thought that the Arab woman should work, 75 per cent believed that a married woman may work to help her husband with living expenses, and 84 per cent agreed that an Arab woman may work in jobs in which she had to mix with men.

Looking back at the late twenties, when the first handful of girls who entered Cairo University were subjected to all sorts of cirticism and attempts at humiliating them in the media, one can realize the big strides that have been achieved. A leading Egyptian editor writes that in those days, no woman dared write in the newspapers under her own name, and had to use a pseudonym. Today, of the thousand odd members of the Journalists Union in Egypt, more than 250 are women.

Teaching, traditionally the most acceptable work for women, still attracts the greatest number of female graduates, followed by medicine. Many women doctors and teachers teach in Arab countries other than their own, and thus exercise an influence on the process of social change beyond their role as active members in their respective societies.

As the economic situation in Arab countries changes, the momentum for progress will destroy the bastion of opposition to the emancipation of women. In some countries embarking now on enormous development projects, the decision-makers will have to face the choice of whether to continue to rely on foreign manpower, Arab or non-Arab, or to spur on the movement for the education of women, and their integration in all areas of the development of the national economy. Nationalism and rising pride in one's particular country will lead them to choose the second possibility.

The Need for More Involvement of Women in Public Life

In looking at the varying degrees of recent improvement in the status of women throughout the Arab world, it would seem that whatever advances were made, were largely due to governmental effort. This is an indication that in those countries where progress has been achieved, there has been a great awareness on the part of those governments, of the fact that the question of the status of women is not of concern to women alone, but is rather an issue of the utmost importance to the realization of the desired progress and social improvement. Yet the fact remains that in the absence of pressure by women themselves, and their organizations, the importance attached to the implementation of existing measures regarding the equality between men and women has proven to be quite often limited. This is particularly true in the legal and political areas. Various women's organizations operate in some Arab countries with a certain measure of local success. But if the aim is the emancipation of Arab women at large, there is need for a strong united effort by women's organizations to exert due pressure on the governments and the public to realize this aim. In various Arab countries, enlightened women are working to speed the emancipation of their less fortunate sisters; most of their activities have been directed toward social improvement. It is worth noting that in the Middle East, voluntary, benevolent associations are widespread, although very little publicized. Women are getting increasingly involved in work of social improvement, but some of the women's associations play a limited political role by promoting civic ideas through lectures. There are efforts on the part of organizations and less formal groups to improve the legal and political status of women. However, these are still rather weak. Thus in recent years, the need has been increasingly felt in the Arab world for a major women's organization which would focus attention on women's special problems, and which would both stimulate and assist their efforts to integrate into all sectors of the economic and social life of the region. There has also been a definite need for a regional organization which could play the role of a coordinator between the governments of the region and the non-governmental women's associations, so as to increase their effectiveness. Such an organization would also provide a useful link between the region and other international and regional organizations, to give a further impetus to the movement for the improvement of the status of Arab women. Thanks to the efforts of some active members of women's associations in Egypt and elsewhere, these ideas were endorsed by the Organization of the League of Arab States, and at its fifty-sixth ordinary session held in September 1971, it adopted a resolution establishing the Commission on the Status of Arab Women.

The Commission is established within the frame-work of the League of Arab States, and comes under the Department of Social Affairs. It is composed of representatives from all member states, who are appointed to the Commission by their governments at the request of the Secretary-General, who may also invite representatives of other national, regional and international organizations concerned with women's affairs as observers, when the subjects under discussion are directly related to the activities of these organizations.

As stated in its statutes, the Commission has, as primary objectives, the elimination of discrimination against women, and the realization of the equality of men and women in all spheres of life. It is committed to fighting to prevent the passage of any legislation that discriminates against women.

During the short period which has elapsed since its establishment, the Commission has tackled various problems, which have so far defied solution, despite government and private efforts. Measures already passed, such as legislation in the field of labor, are not readily implemented. With greater representation of women in parliament or policy-making bodies, it is hoped that legislation favoring a change in the legal status of women can be passed. A Conference on Arab Women and National Development, held in co-operation with the United Nations Children's Fund in Cairo in September 1972, called upon Arab governments to set up working committees on the status of women, to follow up the agreements concerning women's rights, and to study their problems. These committees are to have consultative capacity vis-a-vis their respective states in matters regarding women's affairs. They would also act as a link between their respective governments and the Commission on the Status of Arab Women.

Convinced that before women could feel confident enough to contribute their effort as part of the labor force for the development of their country, they should feel secure at home and in the family, the Commission recommended that the League's Council hold a study group to examine the position of women in the law of personal status. The Commission also recommended the prohibition of polygamy in all the Arab States, and called for the necessity to resort to court to obtain a divorce, which should be granted only after all attempts by the judge to reconcile the parties failed. It further recommended that each state adopt legislation stipulating a minimum age for marriage, and that married women have the right to work unless otherwise stipulated in the marriage contract. For marriage[4] in Islam is essentially a contract based on consent.

Although in most Muslim countries, family relations are governed by the principles of the Shari'a, there are variations in the family law of each country. In Tunisia, the code of personal status prohibits polygamy. In Egypt, much has been done toward the realization of this objective. The Egyptian National Assembly adopted stricter divorce procedures. One must mention however, that polygamy, especially in advanced Arab regimes,[5] is almost non-existent, althought divorce rate is still high.

It should also be mentioned that although Islam allows polygamy, it restricts it to the point of almost forbidding it. While Islam permits the man to marry simultaneously to a maximum of four wives, it subjects this prerogative to two main limitations: the first is the necessity of establishing total equality and justice among all the wives--the affection, time and money of the husband should be equally distributed among them. The second is the capacity of providing for all wives and children born of those marriages. It is obvious that the abovementioned requirements are difficult, and may be almost impossbile to achieve. Hence, it could be said, as President Bourguiba of Tunisia pointed out, that Muslim law does not favor polygamy.

Regarding the minimum age for marriage, Muslim law does not require it for the conclusion of the marriage contract, since it stipulates that a marriage could be concluded through the consent of the matrimonial guardian. This lack of a minimum age requirement is, however, tempered by the prohibition of the consummation of marriage before puberty, as well as by the option given to the woman to repudiate the marriage at the age of majority. Muslim legislation, however, stipulates a minimum age for the conclusion of marriage. In most North African countries, the minimum age for marriage is 15 years for the girl and 18 years for the boy. In Egypt the minimum age for the girl is 16 years.

Regarding the right to work, as has been mentioned earlier, a married woman is under no obligation to work for the maintenance of the family, nor is she bound to render personal service such as cooking, cleaning etc. She is only responsible for the management of the household and the bringing up of children. As to her right to work, the husband's authorization is not legally required, since the wife has full legal capacity. The limitation on women's right to work in some contemporary Muslim societies is not based on any Islamic prohibition. On the other hand, since the wife is responsible for the management of the household and for raising the children, her husband is entitled to ask her to refrain from any work which is incompatible with such obligations.

It must be noted, however, that it is to the credit of the Arab working woman that she has been able to carry out her professional duties without letting them interfere with her family responsibilities.

To conclude, I would say that in most Arab countries, the emancipation of women, as well as their education, has been retarded owing to social traditions which are alien to the real essence of the precepts of Islam. The fact that in many of these countries until recently, women could hardly receive any education, or participate in public life, or enter a profession, was bound to place women in a state of social inferiority. This social state of inferiority in many countries is a vestige of centuries of prejudice against women, and is gradually disappearing from the scene under the impact of industrialization, urbanization and the spread of higher education among Arab women.

1. For examples of women who achieved eminence in the various fields of knowledge in early and medieval Islam, see Ahmad Shalaby, History of Muslim Education (Beirut: Dar-Al-Kashaf, 1954), pp.190-200.

2. For further details on the education of women in the Arab World, see Joseph S. Szyliowicz, Education and Modernization in the Middle East, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1973), 300ff.

3. See Badr-el-Din Ali, "The Arab Working Woman as seen by our University Girls," Arab Observer (Cairo, July 12, 1965), pp.42-43.

4. For further details on the Commission on the Status of Arab Women, see the Report of the League of Arab States presented to the U.N. Commission on the Status of Women at its 25th Session, U.N. Economic and Social Council, Document E/CN.6/578, E/NC.6/SR.611.

5. One should be careful in evaluating statistics about divorce. It should be borne in mind that in many cases, the divorce refers simply to the annulment of the marriage contract, which often takes place long before the marriage is consummated. In effect it is little more than breaking an engagement.

WOMEN IN THE ARAB WORLD

The Tales of the Arabian Nights, which have provided delightful entertainment for countless generations of avid readers, have evidently left an indelible picture of the Arab woman in the Western mind. As expressed by Madame Ahmed Hussein, the distinguished wife of the Egyptian Ambassador to Washington, "The Western conception seems to have conveniently reduced the status of Arab women to a simple triangle - veils, harems and polygamy."

But this exotic picture, replete with dancing girls and haunting Oriental music, is as foreign to the modern Arab World as it is to the United States of America. In cities like Cairo, Damascus or Beirut, and on campuses in Khartoum, Baghdad or Ramallah, Arab women are busily partaking in the social revolution which is transforming their world. As doctors, nurses, lawyers, teachers or government workers, they are contributing needed skills in the fields of business, industry, government, medicine, social reform and -- perhaps most significantly -- education. For women, as natural-born teachers of the young, have been more readily accepted as educators than in any other profession. And in the field of education lies the greatest hope for the future of this area -- an area which has been plagued through past centuries of foreign rule with an overwhelming burden of illiteracy.

The present-day freedoms enjoyed by Arab women are of relatively recent origin. In Egypt, for example, only thirty-four years have passed since a famous feminist leader named Huda Shaarawi dramatically cast her veil into the Mediterranean as she stepped off a ship that brought her home frmm a women's conference in Rome. Yet today the veil is practically extinct in Egypt, and women are competing with men in almost every field of work or recreation.

Legacy of Islam

The wearing of the veil is, of course, a mere symbol of the secluded life led by some Arab women prior to their twentieth-century emancipation. It is interesting to note, however, that this custom did not originate with Islam but dates back to ancient Babylonian days. Contary to polular Western belief, Islam did not relegate women to "second-class" status. Instead, within a very few years after its inception, the Moslem religion revolutionized the status of Arab women and gave them new dignity in the life of the community.

In the first place, Islam established woman's legal personality and permitted her to keep her family name after marriage. Women were allowed to possess property and dispose of it freely, without the intermediary of a husband or male guardian. They were allowed to become guardians over minors, enter trades and professions, and sue others in court without securing their husbands' approval -- advances which did not take place in Europe until many centuries after. While it is true that Islam decreed that a woman should inherit from her parents only half of a brother's share, it is also true that women had enjoyed no right of inheritance at all prior to Islamic law. In addition, the Moslem woman is never required to spend a penny of her personal income on household or children, which are considered the exclusive financial responsibility of the man.

In the realm of personal relationships, the Moslem religion elevated women to a new position commanding respect and understanding. The Koran speaks in uncompromising terms of the mutual confidence, affection and compassion which should prevail between men and women. The Prophet Muhammed is quoted as saying "The most perfect among the believers are those who are kindest to their womenfolk," and "Paradise lies at the feet of mothers."

Since Islam required every man and woman to seek knowledge, women in the Arab World played an important intellectual role in the centuries following the Prophet's teachings. Muhammed"s wife Aisha was consulted by men because of her advanced knowledge of theology and Islamic Law, and an eighth century woman saint named Rabia Al-Adawiya is ranked among the greatest Sufi authorities on the spiritual life. Women lectured in famous university-mosques, where men students attended their courses and received licenses to teach the courses which they had attended. One of the most celebrated women teachers was a twelfth century scholar named Shuhda, who lived in Baghdad and handed diplomas to the foremost men of her time. As late as 1326 the traveller Ibn Batuta passed through Syria and described the lectures given by a woman of Damascus who was known as the "goal of everyone's journey" -- because of her great learning and high scholastic reputation.

In point of fact, history relates that in the early days of Islam women appeared at public functions, studied and taught in schools, traded in markets, sat on consultative councils of state and even fought on the battlefields by the side of men. The custom of secluding women was borrowed from Byzantium at a much later date, when Arab society had become wealthier and more sophisticated. After the successful establishment of the Arab empire, upper-class Moslem women were deprived of a life of public usefulness and were secluded in their homes as a mistaken token of respect. Even in the most prosperous days, however, this practice was limited to wealthy classes who could afford to restrict their women to cloistered lives. In the vast majority of the Arab World, among the sturdy peasants and bedouin tribes who formed the backbone of the nation, women proceeded with their daily work at the side of their men, unveiled and free.

The Question Of Polygamy

The subject of polygamy always gives rise to many questions about the status of Arab women compared with their Western sisters. In practice, polygamy is a dying institution in most of the Arab world. In Tunisia, for example, polygamy is now forbidden by law; in Lebanon it is virtually non-existent, and in Egypt officials estimate that no more than two per cent of the whole population still practice multiple marriage while legal obstacles are more and more pushing the institution into extinction. Generally speaking, polygamy has been abandoned by educated upper and middle-class Arab families, and exists in insignificant percentages only among the poorer rural classes where an additional wife is an asset in the fields.

Islam's relation to the practice of polygamy is frequently misunderstood, for the basic teachings of the Koran discourage this practice among believers. Multiple marriage as an institution was well established in this part of the world long before the time of Muhammed, among both Arabs and Jews. The Bible, for instance, records many instances of Jewish Kings who had more than one wife. Although the Koran permitted a man to marry as many as four wives, this number represented a limitation of former customary practice. And the Koran added a very stringent condition to multiple marriage, for a fundamental verse on the subject reads: "Take in matrimony two, three, or four wives. If you fear that you may not be fair to them, then marry only one...and you will never be fair, no matter how you try." Thus it is obvious that Islam virtually annuls the practice of polygamy by denying the chances of giving equal treatment to two or more wives.

Marriage, described by the Koran as a "tender relation based on reciprocal amity and kindness," is considered a civil contract in Islam. Divorce is permitted, as in the Western world, but the Prophet Muhammed referred to marital break-up as most hateful to God. In order to protect women and discourage divorce, Islamic Law imposes on the man payment of alimony to a divorced wife and her children. The amount of alimony is assessed in proportion to the later's needs and the father's income. Furthermore, the Law punishes a man who fails to pay the required alimony on schedule by sentencing him to jail. In practice, divorce is frowned upon in the Arab World and usually occurs only after strenuous efforts at conciliation have failed.

Stirrings of Emancipation

Although Arab women did not achieve notable reforms in their status until the twentieth century, the beginnings of their emancipation movement date back to the previous century. A noted Moslem reformer named Jamel-ed-Din al-Afghani, who promoted liberal ideas and preached freedom of thought, believed that woman possessed the same intellectual capacities as man, but was hampered by her upbringing. Influenced by Afghani's teachings, another liberal thinker named Kasim Amin published two books in Cairo at the end of the nineteenth century: The Emancipation of Women and The New Woman. Amin was a strong advocate of women's higher education, for he visualized marriage as a comradeship made strong by intellectual equality and spiritual harmony between man and woman. Accordingly, he advocated gradual elimination of the veil and vocational training for women, to enable them to earn a living instead of remaining dependent upon a male relative.

Amin's defense of women brought an initial storm of protest from conservative opinion, but other supporters soon rallied to his cause and gave wide publicity to his plea for women's independence. The case for feminine emancipation began to receive a hearing in many parts of the Arab World. Two outstanding Iraqi poets, Rasafi and Zahawi, attacked the restrictions imposed upon Arab women and called for abolition of the veil and for women's education. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, a few women's magazines appeared and a number of women began to write on social problems and matters of interest to women. An outstanding woman writer named Bahithat-al-Badia fought for compulsory education and urged that girls be given the freedom to pursue academic courses. A sharp critic of contemporary social life, Bahithat-al-Badia compared secluded female city-dwellers unfavorably with the peasant and bedouin women who toiled together with their men.

Nationalism and Women's Rights

As is the case with so many reform movements in the Arab World, the cause of women's independence was closely allied to the twentieth century struggle for national independence. After the First World War, when nationalistic feeling re-invigorated the Arab peoples, women made notable strides toward equal rights with men, and women participated with men in the effort to eradicate colonial domination. In Egypt in 1919, the first suffragettes appeared in a public demonstration against British occupation forces. Egyptian women picketed government buildings and British stores, and organized a successful boycott of British goods. Many years later, in Lebanon, women marched through the streets of Beirut to protest against the arrest of leading Lebanese political figures by the French mandatory government on November 11, 1943. Included in this group was Mrs. Camille Chamoun, wife of the current President of Lebanon, who was among those leaders exiled by the French. And today, in war-torn Algeria, the Algerian National Liberation Front has enlisted the active support of Algerian women in the fight for independence from France. Women can be found serving as nurses for wounded nationalist soldiers, or even bearing arms as full-fledged members of the Army of National Liberation.

During the past thirty years, Arab women have enjoyed new opportunities as their countries threw off the yoke of foreign rule. In 1922, when Egypt received its first measure of partial liberation from the British, only one high school for girls was provided in a country which numbered fourteen million inhabitants. Total school enrollment did not exceed 130,000 of whom one-fifth were girls. At the present time, student enrollment numbers some two million, of whom more than one-third are girls. Iraq, which had only one elementary school for girls in 1922, now has approximately 75,000 girls studying on the elementary, secondary and university levels. Female students can be found in course on education, law, medicine, dentistry, pharmacy agricltuure, economy, engineering, commerce, arts and sciences.

Syria's famous feminist leader, comparable to Egypt's Huda Shaarawi, is a remarkable woman named Adla Beyhum who now serves as president of the Syrian Feminist Union. Shortly after the First World War, Mrs. Beyhum wrote an open letter to the editor of a prominent Arabic magazine in which she asserted that "Emancipation does not mean that a woman will neglec her family. Our movement aims at restoring the traditional prestige of the Arab woman, adopting only those changes necessary to keep up with the trend of modern times." Within the next three decades, Mrs. Beyhum witnessed a steady increase in her countrywomen's rights up to the present time when Syria's women not only enjoy the right to vote but are equal partners with men in business, industry, education and the professions.

Current Status of Women

The current status of women in the Arab World shows that they have made remarkable progress, in a short period of time, in breaking down traditional economic, social and political barriers. In Lebanon, where women received the right to vote in 1952, Mrs. Chamoun provides an outstanding example of the social welfare work undertaken by so many modern Arab women. In Morocco, popular young Princess Aisha is a living testament to the Sultan's belief in education for the young women of his newly independent nation. And in Jordan, beautiful Queen Dina is proudly acclaimed by her countrymen as "the most educated Queen in the world." (Dina, a university graduate, lectured on English Literature in Cairo University before her marriage to King Hussein.)

But the story of today's Arab women is not limited to celebrated individual leaders. Comparative figures that show that women now form approximately five per cent of Syria's total labor force, eight per cent of Egypt's industrial labor force and ten per cent of Iraq's labor force. Participation of women in industry has resulted in a series of labor laws designed to protect their health and safeguard their jobs during maternity leaves. Women have fought for better labor conditions, and joined the labor union movements in various Arab countries.

In business and the professions, women are serving in every capacity from engineer to private secretary. One of Egypt's first film companies was founded and financed by a woman who worked as producer and actress; two women operate a large Lebanese business firm which handles government contracts, and women journalists serve as reporters, editorial writers and radio broadcasters virtually all over the Arab World. In the realm of politics, women in Tunisia not only vote but run for office in nation-wide elections.

Perhaps the most promising index of women's progress is the new self-awareness indicated by the rapid growth of women's organizations. These organizations, which undertake essential social welfare projects and continue the fight for still greater emancipation, are teaching women the value of united action. In the Sudan, a woman's movement which includes all classes of society is conducting a vigorous campaign to wipe out illiteracy in the adult feminine population. Educated volunteers who belong to various Sudanese women's societies conduct classes for their poorly educated sisters, and libraries established in women's clubs are stocked with books relating to the advancement and accomplishments of women in other lands.

The Red Cross and its Arab counterpart, the Red Crescent, perform acts of charity and mercy in most Arab countries. In addition, Arab women have formed local chapters of such international organizations as the Y.W.C.A. and the Girl Guides. Women's groups are renowned for the work they have accomplished in the field of social welfare. In Egypt, which has more than one hundred social organizations run entirely by women, club members played an indispensable role in a medical campaign against cholera and malaria epidemics which invaded the country several years ago. They worked with equal devotion to alleviate the sufferings of Arab refugees from Palestine sheltered by Egypt.

Jordan, which also has a large Arab refugee population, depends heavily upon the volunteer work of women's organizations which assist the unfortunate victims of the 1948 war. The first Jordanian women's societies were organized more than thirty years ago.

Today these societies are officially recognized by the Jordanian Ministry of Social Affairs, which awards them grants-in-aid for their various social welfare projects. These projects include maintenance of child care centers, orphanages, clothing distribution centers, literacy classes, homes for the blind, maternity hospitals and old-age homes.

The Arab World also has its counterparts of the American League of Women Voters -- organizations devoted to developing political awareness and responsibility among the female population. In Syria, for example, the Syrian Federation of Women's Organizations makes a strenuous effort to "get out the woman's vote" on election day. Mass meetings are held prior to elections, explaining the importance of the vote and women's responsibility to elect good candidates. On election day itself, volunteer Federation members help get women to the polls and arrange for baby-sitters when necessary. In Egypt the Feminist Union, under the leadership of Mrs. Shaarawi, waged a vigorous campaign for equal suffrage which ended successfully, as evident in the new Egyptian constitution. Egyptian women now hold important posts in various branches of government service: The Ministries of Education, Social Affairs, Public Health, Foreign Affairs: the Municipal Councils; and public boards dealing with such questions as juvenile delinquency, winter relief and rehabilitation. In Lebanon the Federation of Lebanese Women's Organizations, representing more than one hundred member societies, pursues such questions, as equality of rights for married women in government service, equality of inheritance for women, rights of women to be magistrates and equality of guardianship for mothers.

The Future

Considering the striking progress made by Arab women in the past few decades, it is a safe assumption that they will achieve even greater political, social and economic equality during the coming years. In a recent study of women's role in various Arab countries, sponsored by the International Federation of Business and Professional Women, the following optimistic appraisal occurs.

"In all of these countries nationalism is an incentive to progress. In some of them the date-line of substantial change was the attainment of independence which awakened consciousness of power and prestige and stimulated the effort toward national development. The Middle East has always been a highway of cultural exchange between Africa, Asia and Europe and a bridge between East and West, but new elements and new values have now entered into this historical process...

"The most salient change, however, is in the position of women. In each country, a body of women leaders now constitutes a social force of growing significance...At the same time, the ever-increasing number of business and professional women represents a potential influence in the development of an educated middle and upper middle class such as has hitherto been lacking in the Arab World.

"Women, as a whole, have benefitted from the liberalizing influences of social evolution and from the growing realization that a mediaeval status for women is incongruous with the modern need for a free partnership of men and women. Furthermore the women of the Middle East are not passive beneficaries of this change, but, rather, are assuming active responsibility for determining its constructive results."

WORKSHEET #2

Directions: After reading "The Status of Women in the Arab World," "Women in the Arab World" and *The Arab World*, pp.121-127 complete the following chart By describing the changes which have accrued to Arab women in each of the four variables listed.

WESTERNIZATION OF ARAB WOMEN

VARIABLE	DESCRIPTION OF IMPACT
1. DRESS	
2. EDUCATION	
3. LEGISLATION	
4. REVOLUTION	

GEOGRAPHY

1. Outline map of the Middle East.*

2. Tape #1, "Geography of the Middle East."#

3. The Middle East: Crossroads of Three Continents. *Film*

4. Vocabulary list for Tape #1.*

5. Life in the Middle East. *Film*

6. "Egyptian Fight to Live."*

7. United Arab Emirates--A New Oil Nation or Life in an Oasis. *Films*

8. Tape #2, "Geography--Peoples of the Middle East."#

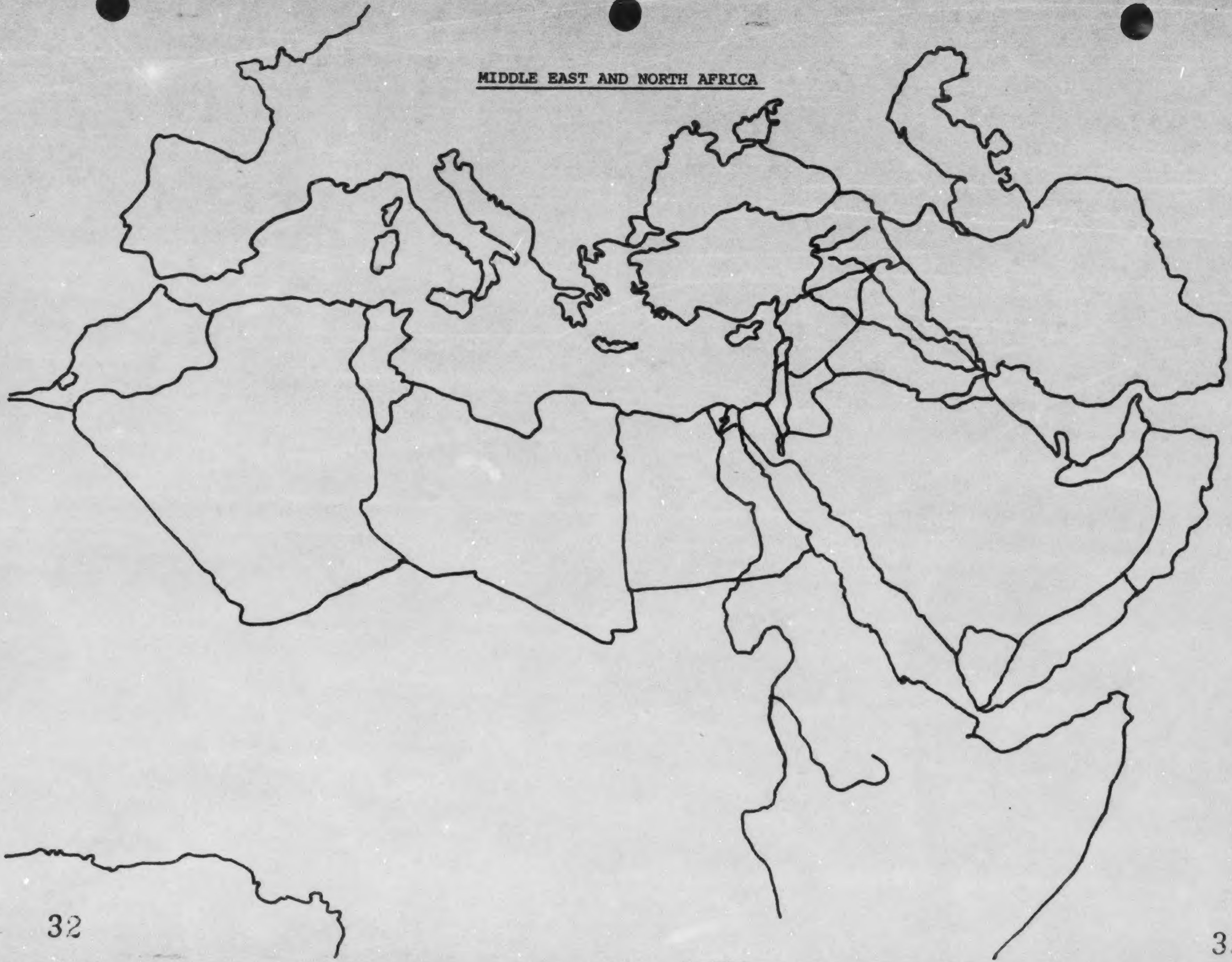
9 Vocabulary list for Tape #2.*

* = Student materials located in this section

# = Needs to be acquired by the school using these teaching units

Film = Films listed in the Cinematic Guide to the Middle East

MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA



Vocabulary of Terms Related to Middle East

Tape #1

1. Oasis
2. Sheikhs
3. Cartographer
4. Geographer
5. Middle East
6. Far East
7. overgrazing
8. erosion
9. Fertile Crescent
10. Levant
11. desert
12. steppes
13. arid
14. trade winds
15. sediment
16. delta
17. irrigation
18. levees
19. Mesopotamia
20. humid

GEOGRAPHY - Places to be located on map by students

Tape #1

1. All countries of Middle East
2. Africa, Europe, Asia
3. Mediterranean Sea
4. Arabian Peninsula
5. Atlantic Ocean
6. Indian Ocean
7. Persian Gulf
8. Red Sea
9. Rub' al Khali (Empty Quarter)
10. Sahara Desert
11. Tigris - Euphrates Rivers and Valley
12. Nile River and Valley
13. Lake Tanganyika
14. Nile Delta
15. Aswan Dam, Egypt
16. Taurus's Zagros Mts.
17. Shatt-al-Arab River
18. Jordan River
19. Great Rift Valley

EGYPTIANS FIGHT TO LIVE

'City of the Dead' shows why Sadat pursues peace

CAIRO --Roaia doesn't spend much time thinking about politics or peace initiatives. Her concerns are much more basic.

She worries, for instance, about whether she will eat today, if she and her family will have a place to live tomorrow, and if her goat is pregnant.

But Egyptian President Anwar Sadat says he worries about Roaia and others like her. The fact that millions of Egyptians are destitute was the reason given by Sadat for his historic peace mission to Jerusalem last November.

Only by negotiating a peace settlement with Israel, Sadat says, can Egypt reduce its soaring defense budget, attract foreign investments and begin to improve the lives of its citizens, lives that for many are little more than daily struggles to survive.

Roaia is engaged in such a struggle. She lives in a three-room shelter in a cemetery. She shares the shelter with her husband, her two sisters and their husbands, her mother, 10 children and three goats. Roaia is pregnant as is one of her sisters. But she doesn't know if her other sister and her goat are expecting. She hopes, however, that the goat is pregnant because another goat might mean more milk for the family.

Roaia and her family are among scores of similar groups now living in the cemetery along the main road between the airport and downtown Cairo. It is known, appropriately enough, as "The City of the Dead."

Once the cemetery was a burying place for the rich of Cairo whose mourners built small shelters to shield them from the weather. Those shelters that once protected mourners now provide housing for the living.

On an exceptionally hot day recently, 23-year-old Roaia squatted in front of her small shelter as she washed the pans from the morning meal of bread and beans, the staples of the Egyptian diet. She said she has lived in the cemetery for eight years, but hopes someday she and her husband, a government worker, and their children can move to an apartment in the city. But that is only a dream. The reality is the cemetery with its overcrowded, rundown shelter that has no electricity or running water.

Not far from where Roaia washes her dishes, 10-year-old Ismail climbs over the crumbling walls of a building no longer able to provide either shelter or housing. Sweat has cut little rivers through the dirt of many days caked on Ismail's forehead. Despite the heat, he wears flannel pajamas as his play clothes. It appears he has worn them for the past several days.

Egyptians' Fight to Live - cont.

When he grows up, Ismail says, he would like to be a mechanic. But for now he is content to play with his friends amid the rubble of the cemetery. He likes it there, he says, because it is much quieter than it is in Cairo.

A short cab ride from "The City of the Dead" is Ein Seera, another pocket of deep poverty in Cairo. Here children play among the chickens, goats and donkeys that share the area with them. Often, as many as 10 people live in one room.

The cabdriver warns a visitor against trying to talk to anyone living in Ein Seera. "The children will crowd around you," he explains, "and if you don't give them money they may throw stones."

"The City of the Dead" and Ein Seera are not isolated examples of Egyptian poverty. With an annual per capita income of $260, the country is one of the world's poorest.

The country's area is 386,000 square miles, most of it uninhabitable desert. Consequently, 99 percent of the 38 million Egyptians are crowded into less than 4 percent of the land, which consists of narrow ribbons running along both sides of the Nile River, and the delta region north of Cairo.

THE COMPACTING of its people into such a small area means Egypt has a population density of 2,7000 per square mile, one of the highest figures in the world. And with the population increasing at a rate of nearly 3 percent a year, the overcrowding will get worse.

"We are a poor country and we are an overpopulated country," says Samir Koraiem, undersecretary of state in the economic ministry.

Nowhere is the crush of people more apparent than in Cairo. The city is simply overwhelmed. Cairo was designed to accommodate 2½ million people comfortably. At four million, the city becomes uncomfortable. The population now is estimated at between eight million and 11 million - no one is sure of the exact figure - and is growing at a rate of 1,5000 people a day.

The results of the overcrowding are obvious everywhere. The telephone system doesn't work. It can take days to make an overseas call, hours to make one across the city. People often find it faster to visit someone than to try to contact them by telephone.

The public transportation system is almost nonexistent. Buses and trolleys frequently are so crowded that people literally hang on the outside of the vehicles, holding onto anything they can grab, which often is another hanger-on. Trains are jammed, with three or four people sitting on a seat designed for two.

And the city's ancient sewage system is rapidly deteriorating. It was built long ago for far fewer people, and it was constructed too near the surface. While Egyptians appear immune to the resulting odor, it takes a while for a visitor to adjust.

THE HOUSING shortage is acute. People are crowded into the limited space available, and often, as with Roaia and her family, they are forced to share what little is usable. It is estimated one million housing units are needed in Cairo alone.

And everywhere there is the desert dust. Efforts are made to keep the streets clean, but it's impossible. With no rain except for a few sprinkles in the winter, the dust is constantly swirled about by the hot desert winds.

When you add extreme poverty to the physical conditions of the city, says a Western economist, you have the ingredients for a repeat of the bread riots of January, 1977, which left 79 dead and stunned Sadat with their spontaneity and ferocity. "The city today," the econcomist says, "is a political tinderbox."

The 1977 riots occurred when Sadat, attempting to reduce government spending, ordered a reduction in the subsidies given people to purchase bread, sugar and tea. The subsidies were immediately restored. Prices for other staples have increased, however, while wages have not.

"The domestic picture is more acute today than it was at the time of the January riots," warns the economist. "The urban lower class Egyptian is worse off today than he was then. He has a lower standard of living now than at the time of the riots, and it was pretty damn low then."

President Sadat is well aware of the conditions of his countrymen. A peace with Israel, he says, will help to alleviate them.

But Koraiem, the undersecretary in the foreign ministry, has a somber warning for Egyptians who think that peace, if it should come, would bring them immediate relief.

"For me," he says during an interview in his office, "peace will mean less military expenses, more funds for development. But I don't believe that will take place very soon. The fruits of peace will not be harvested very quickly. People will not see it right after an agreement is signed. It will take time."

It may be a long time before Roaia and her family can leave "The City of the Dead."

Richard A. Ryan, News Staff Writer, wrote this while on assignment in the Middle East, an area he has covered for several years.

Vocabulary of Terms Related to Middle East

Tape #2.

1. Nomads
2. Semetic
3. bedouin
4. rigorous
5. clan
6. tribe
7. famine
8. drought
9. sheikhs
10. "An eye for an eye..."
11. Muslim
12. patriarchal
13. peasants
14. mosque
15. mulk land
16. miri land
17. tenant farmer
18. share cropper
19. day laborer
20. bazaar
21. middle class
22. Allah

ARAB HISTORY

1. The Middle East, Frank Tachau. #
2. Outline map of the Middle East.*
3. The Haj. *Film*
4. Islam. *Film*
5. Medieval Crusades or Medieval Times. *Films*
6. Art of Islam, Discovering the Music of the Middle East, and Gift of Islam. *Films*
7. The Arabs, A Short Story, Philip K. Hitti.#

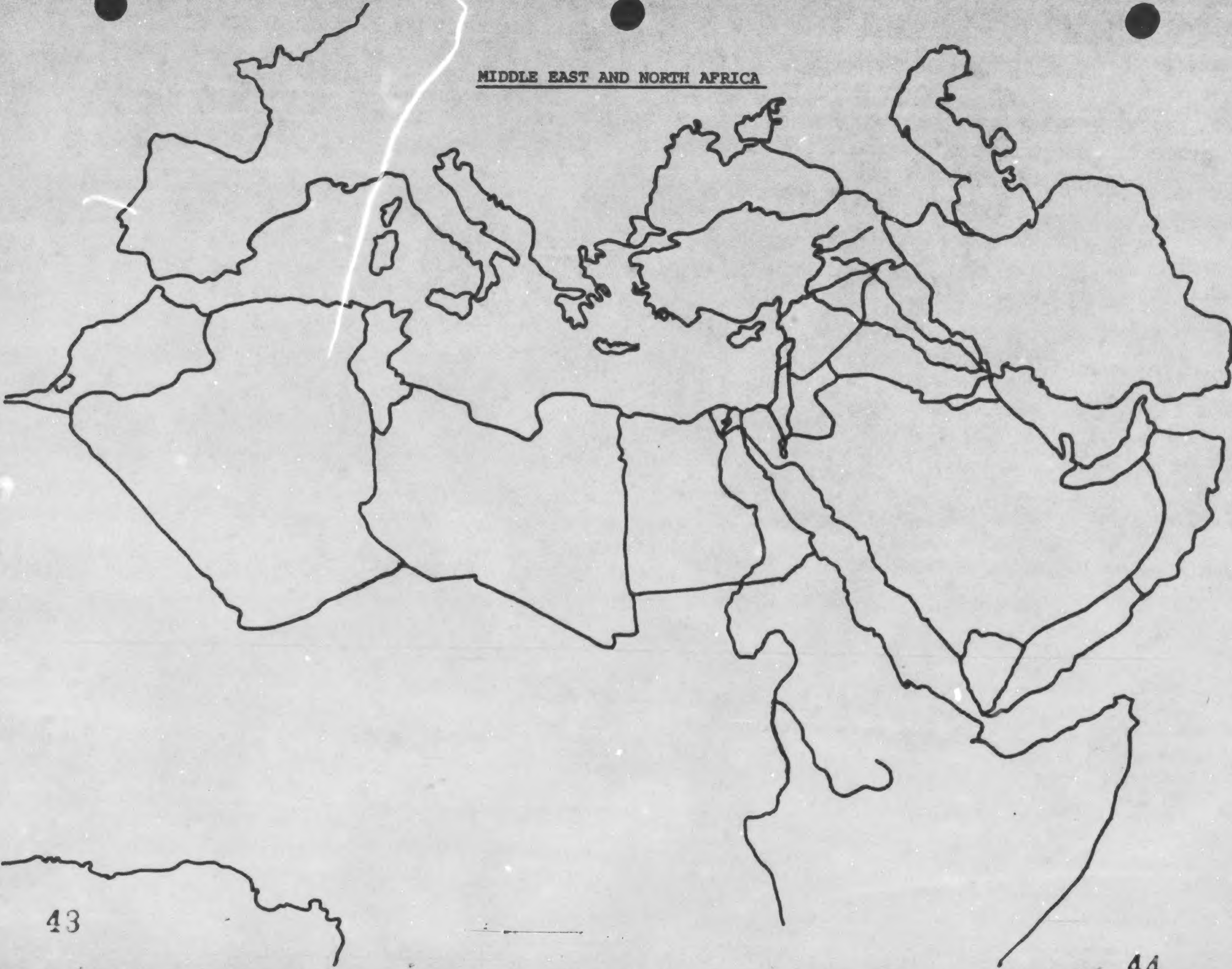
*	=	Student materials located in this section
#	=	Needs to be acquired by the school using these teaching units
Film	=	Films listed in the Cinematic Guide to the Middle East

Arab History and Its Contributions to the West

Questions from The Middle East, Tachau, Frank, chapter tntitled: The Spread of Islam.

1. How was Mohammad able to bring about unity and cohesion to the Arabian Peninsula?
2. What were some ideas and/or events which contributed to the amazing success in the spread of Islam by the early Muslims?
3. What changes within the Islamic religious community were brought about by the expansion of Islam beyond its original homeland?
4. What happened to the leadership of Islam after Mohammad's death?
5. Why was the Umayzods family important to Islam?
6. Why did Islam become split into sects?
7. What is the Caliphate? When was it established? What happened to it?

MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA



IMMIGRATION

1. Immigration. *Film*

2. "America."*

3. "Labor's Untold Story."*

4. "Freedom and Crisis."*

5. "Why We Came to America: The Finns."*

6. "Polish Immigration to the United States and Its Distribution."*

7. World Outline Map.*

8. Family Tree.*

9. The Arab: Who Is He? *Film*

10. Middle East: Crossroads of Three Continents. *Film*

11. The Arab World: A Handbook for Teachers.#

12. Middle East Outline Maps.*

13. Arab Village, Faces of My Brother, and Palestinian Situation. *Films*

14. "Yemeni Farm Workers in California."*

15. "Arabic Speaking Communities in American Cities."*

16. The Disinherited, Fawaz Turki.#

17. "Our Ugly Arab Complex."*

18. "North American Images of the Middle East." *In teacher units.*

19. Immigration Chart.*

20. Long Journey: Immigrant Experience. *Film*

21. Racism, B'nai B'rith filmstrip kit.#

22. Original Letters from Immigrants.#

23. Chart--"America's Societal Treatment of Ethnic Groups."*

* = Student materials located in this section
# = Needs to be acquired by the school using these teaching units
Film = Films listed in the Cinematic Guide to the Middle East

AMERICA

The Huddled Masses

For three quarters of the population that hears itself so often hailed as "the American people" are the descendants of immigrants from Asia and Africa and, most of all, from the continent of Europe. They brought over with them their religions and folkways and their national foods, not least their national prejudices, which for a long time in the new country turned the cities of the Northeast and the Midwest into adjoining compounds of chauvinists, distrustful not only of immigrants from other nations everywhere but too often of their neighbors three or four blocks away.

Why did they come? Why do they still come? For a mesh of reasons and impulses that condition any crucial decision in life. But for the most powerful was one common to most of the immigrants from the 1840s on-hard times in the homeland. They chose America because, by the early nineteenth century, Europeans, especially if they were poor, had heard that the Americans had had a revolution that successfully over-threw the old orders of society. Madame de Stael could tell a Boston scholar, in 1817, "You are the advance guard of the human race." And Goethe, ten years later, wrote for anybody to read: "Amerika, du hast es besser al unser Kontinent" (which may be loosely translated as: "America, you have things better over there.") He was thinking of the freedom from the binding force of "useless traditions." But people who had never heard of Madame de Stael and Goethe picked up the new belief that there was a green land far away preserved "from robbers, knights and ghosts affrighting." Whenever life could hardly be worse at home, they came to believe that life was better in America.

In Ireland in the middle 1840s human life had touched bottom. Ironically, two causes of the Irish plight came from America. The rising competition of American agriculture made thousands of very small farmers (300,000 of Ireland's 685,000 farms had less than three acres) shift from tillage to grazing, on barren ground. And the potato blight, which was to putrefy vast harvests in a few weeks, had crossed the Atlantic from America in 1845. Within five years the potato famine had claimed almost a million Irish lives, over twenty thousand of them dropping in the fields from starvation.

The young Queen Victoria was informed that the state of Ireland was "alarming" and that the country was so full of "inflammable matter" that it could explode in rebellion.

So she paid a royal visit, serenely admired the beauty of the scenery, and was relieved that the people "received us with the greatest enthusiasm." Nevertheless, at Kingston and at Cork she noted: "You see more ragged and wretched people here than I ever saw anywhere else." One of those ragged people could well have been a bankrupt farmer from Wexford County who had gone to Cork. Most such, with any energy left over after the famine, retreated to the towns and either joined sedition societies or headed for America. This one chose America, and, like very many of the Irish who came after, his destination was chosen for him by the simple fact that Boston was the end of the Cunard line. His name was Patrick Kennedy, great-grandfather of the thirty-fifth President of the United States. He was one of the 1,7000,000 Irish-a little less than one quarter of the whole population when the famine began-who left for America in the 1840s and 1850s.

Hunger, then, was the spur in Ireland. There were other, equally fearful incentives. In the single year of 1848 political storms swept across Europe-in Austria, an abdication, arrests, and executions; in Italy, a revolution and a declaration of war by the Pope against Austria; in Sicily, an uprising against the King of Naples; in Germany, a liberal revolution that failed. Both then and throughout the rest of the century and on into our own, in any troubled country, whether or not its mischief could be laid to known culprits, there was always the ancient scapegoat of the Jew. In eastern and central Europe the ghettos had long been routine targets for the recruiting sergeant and the secret police, and their inhabitants were acquainted from childhood with what one of them called "the stoniest sound in the world: the midnight knock on the door." It would be hard to calculate but easy to guess at the millions of American Jews whose forefathers were harried and haunted by these persecutors. It is something hardly thought of by most of us who came here by free choice, or were born here without ever having to make a choice.

In some cities of Europe, Jews were permitted to practice their religion in compounds. But in many more places, where the Jews had been systematically vilified for fifteen hundred years, authorities considered their rituals to be as sinister as black magic, and the more daring or devout worshiped in stealth. In America, they had heard, they could worship openly in their own fashion, Orthodox, Reform, Conservative-or, as radical Reconstructionists, they could look to the United States as a permitted rallying ground on which to muster the faithful for the return to Palestine.

I dwell on the Jews because, in the great tidal wave of the late nineteenth-and early twentieth-century immigration, they were the most numerous of those who saw America as the Land of Canaan; because their story offers the most dramatic and arduous exercise in the struggle to assimilate; and because, as much or more than other peoples, they created the American polyglot metropolis against which, in 1924, the Congress protested with restrictive legislation that tried, too late, to restore the United States to its northern European origins.

So late as 1880, there were only a quarter of a million Jews in the United States. By 1924 there were four and a half million, the product of a westward movement that started in the early nineteenth century with their exodus from the ghettos of eastern Europe into the new factories of western Europe. They had moved in that direction earlier throughout the Thirty Years War and then after the later Cossack massacres and peasant revolts. But the factory system provided them with a legal right to flee from their inferior citizenship in Germany and from pogroms in Russia, Poland, and Romania. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, both city and rural Jews were the willing quarry of emigration agents from America carrying glowing broadsides from house to house about the high wages, good clothes, abundant food, and civil liberties sensibly discounted, but not the bags of mail containing "Americal letters" from relatives who had made the voyage and whose more practical accounts of an attainable decent life were read aloud in cottages, markets, and factories.

The word spread beyond the factories and the ghettos to the farmers of southern and central Europe. And whereas before 1890 the immigrant stream had flowed out of Scandinavia, Germany, Ireland, England, and Canada, in the next thirty years the mass of immigrants came from Italy, Austria-Hungary, Russia, and again and always Ireland.

The Germans formed a strong and special current in the mainstream of immigration. There were already a quarter of a million of them in the United States at the time of the Declaration of Independence, and in the thirty years between 1860 and 1890 they contributed more refugees than any other nation, among them more varied social types, more professionals, and more scholars than the others. They also settled far and wide.

The Huddled Masses - cont.

The German Jews, beginning as small merchants, prospered more conspicuously and founded many of the great banking families of New York. Wherever the Germans went, they tended to establish themselves, both by superiority of talent and a marked gift of clannishness, at the head of the social hierarchy of Jewry. The Sephardic Jews and the German Jews were at the top, and at the bottom were the Lithuanians and the Hungarians, elements in a social system that discouraged intermarriage between its upper and lower strata the defiance of which has probably caused as much snobbish anguish as the love matches of Jews and Gentiles in other immigrant families.

All told, in the first two decades of this century, an unbelievable fourteen and a half million immigrants arrived. They were mostly the persecuted and the poor, "the wretched refuse of your teeming shore" apostrophized by Emma Lazarus, a wealthy and scholarly young lady whose poetic dramas and translations of Heine are forgotten in the thunder of five lines inscribed on the Statue of Liberty. These unlettered millions were, for the most part, to become the "huddled masses" who, in the tenements of the American cities, would have quite a time of it "yearning to breathe free." They had never heard of Thomas Jefferson or George Washington. But they were the easy victims of the absurd myth that the streets of America were paved with gold-not much, perhaps, but enough to offer striking proof, in sepia photograpsh sent back to Poland or Hungary, of well-fed families who looked you in the eye, of a father or a cousin wearing a suit and shiny shoes, just like a doctor or a merchant in the old country.

Long before they arrived at the ports of embarkation-Constantinople, Piraeus, Antwerp, Bremen-emigrant trains had started deep inside Russia. Most of them were linked box cars, sometimes with benches, the men in one car, the women and children in another. Every few hundred miles the train would be shunted on to a siding in order to pick up other new arrivals, of Austrians, Hungarians, Lithuanians, and finally a troop of Germans, before they came to, say, Hamburg. There they were corralled and checked to see if they had the three essential passports to America: an exit paper, twenty-five spare dollars to prevent their becoming a public charge, and the price of the passage. By the 1890s lively rate wars between steamship lines had halved the steerage fare from about twenty dollars to ten.

THE HUDDLED MASSES - cont.

Many thousands of them arrived just after the invention of such labor-saving devices as the sewing machine, which had been touted as a boon to the housewife, but was a curse to the seamstress. The labor that she had done for forty cents an hour was now being done by machines, and she had no choice but to stay on and work them for eight cents an hour.

The industrialists, the steel men, the iron and tin and railroad barons, came very easily to make the same large assumption about the inexhaustibility of cheap labor. But, as we have seen in Carnegie's troubles with his workers, the immigrant did not stay cowed forever. Henry Frick, Carneigie's bosom partner in his steel enterprises, was a fanatical opponent of labor unions, but he was quick to see that the latest wave of immigrants could be employed as strike breakers. One year he employed Hungarians to break a strike. But within a year or two he had to hire Italians to break a strike of Hungarians, who by then were beginning to learn a specialty. In an irritable moment Frick got off a profound remark. "The immigrant," he complained, "however illiterate or ignorant he may be, always learns too soon." Not soon enough, however, to deny these industrial tycoons their imperial hold on the raw materials of industry and, in the person of John Pierpont Morgan, on the national economy itself.

Cooke, Alistair. Alistair Cooke's America. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1977, pp.273-279, 293.

IMMIGRATION

Labor's Untold Story

1. Hate, Inc.

In the aftermath of World War I, when all efforts were judged good or bad according to the profits they brought in, even the organization of hate became a profitable industry. Millions of dollars were made by those who knew how to manipulate, encourage, and increase the hatred of one part of the population for another part.

Sociologists explained the hate manifested by such organizations as the revived Ku Klux Klan by declaring that the government had brought into being as part of its win-the-war, hate-the-enemy campaign a vast fund of unexpended hate, unused because the war ended too quickly to exhaust it. Now smart promoters, it was said, were organizing this oceanic unexpended reservoir of meanness.

Perhaps a more accurate explanation rested in the fact that foreign-born and Negroes received about half the average wage of white native workers. Billions of dollars in super-profits were obtained each year by employers, who were always ready to contribute to organizations which aided in the immensely profitable technique of divide and conquer-whereby huge groups were paid less for work than other groups.

The Ku Klux Klan, revived in 1915 in Atlanta, began appealing to the native-born millions in about 1920. Great organized public orgies of hate, disguised as patriotism, were stage-managed in the South and Middle West, long before Hitler organized similar manifestations with his storm troopers.

On scores of hillsides oil-soaked timber crosses burned in the night while around them gathered thousands in white robes, hoods concealing their faces, thrilling to such hymns as "Onward Christian Soldiers," glorying in a ritual in which drug store proprietors were "Kleagles" and real estate salesmen "Wizards."

The Klan was, its members said, 100 per cent American. It was against trade unions as a manifestation of Communism. It was against Roman Catholics as foreign agents representing an international consiparcy under the Pope, whose prime object was seizure of the White House by force and violence. It saw all Jews, too, as representatives of an international conspiracy.

IMMIGRATION

Labor's Untold Story

1. The Dream

On July 4, 1880, the orators postured and roared about love of country but they did not often mention those who loved it most. Seldom has a nation had such lovers as these United States. Of what other country did men and women dream thousands of miles away and then come to it, traveling with incredible difficulties over long vistas of sea and land, that they might be a part of it? In distant Bohemia, in far-off Albania, in Minsk and Kiev and Warsaw, along the Rhine and Danube, on the estates of Prussian junkers and Austrian noblemen, in Sicily and Sardinia, in Vienna, Budapest, Naples, Hamburg, Belfast, Rome, Glasgow, Munich, Liverpool, and Dublin, the work America had a grand majestic sound which in every language meant liberty and plenty. It was this dream of social justice that drew millions across the sea.

In the ten years beginning in 1880 some 5,246,613 new Americans landed in the United States. Many died during passage to the promised land. "The steamship 'Ohio' of the Bremen line arrived on Friday," said a contemporary account, "with 1,342 passengers crowded into steerage (only 857 passengers allowed by law for this). There were 272 children under ten years of age, 156 being infants less than a year old. There was much sickness among them; thirteen died during the passage, and one at Castle Garden after the immigrants landed. All of the deaths were sudden." The numbers crammed into a ship's hold, invariably packed to the point of suffocation, were limited only by "the avarice of owners of vessels and steamship companies," Dr. Thomas J. Turner, medical director of the United States Navy, declared in 1880. "This method," his report continue, "has no regard for the health and comfort of the emigrant, views him only as supplying so many dollars to the bank account, and is a marine inheritance from the slave trade with all the horrors of the 'middle passage.' ...."

Thousands of new Americans began life in the United States as industrial serfs in mines, steel mills, and railroad construction under terms of contract labor. Such immigrants were paid little or nothing until they had reimbursed those who had imported them for their cost of passage and food. The method of importing this human labor supply is graphically told in the following contemporary account appearing in John Swinton's Paper of Dec. 30, 1883:

Labor's Untold Story - cont.

Membership in the Klan cost $10. By 1924 its membership had reached a total of 4,500,000 and had contributed some $45,000,000 to its promoters, according to the careful researches of Stanley Frost. The Klan elected Congressmen, governors, mayors, state legislatures. It dominated the political scene as well as the governments of seven states, Indiana, Ohio, California, Texas, Oklahoma, Arkansas, and Oregon.

Its "white robe and hood, its flaming cross, its secrecy, and the preposterous vocabulary of its ritual could be made the vehicle for all that infantile love of hocus-pocus and mummery, that lust for secret adventure which survives in the adult whose lot is cast in drab places," writed Frederick Lewis Allen. "Here was a chance to dress of the village bigot and let him be a Knight of the Invisible Empire." And many a union organizer and many a Negro felt the last of the village bigot's whip.

The 13,000,000 foreign-born, the 30,000,000 who were children of the foreign-born, did most of the nation's work in 1920, particularly in coal, steel, clothing, metal mining, construction, marine, and all kinds of manufacture, yet they were regarded by millions of native-born Americans as potential spies, subversives, possible bomb throwers, and saboteurs. They were called kikes, wops, hunkies and dagoes, squareheads, heinies, greasers, and polaks. It was more than a little strange in that everyone in the United States, save the Indians, was either an immigrant or the descendant of immigrants.

The immigrants had come expecting a fair land and a fair deal and many had found instead a condition little better than slavery. Billions were made from their sweat, from the difference in wages paid them and native-born white workers. They did the hardest work for the least pay, always with the exception of Negroes, while living in the worst housing. The United States Immigration Commission found evidence of widespread peonage in 1910 among the foreign-born, a system of forced labor in which employees are not allowed to quit despite harsh treatment and starvation wages. This condition existed, the commission found, in every state of the Union except Oklahoma and Connecticut. In addition the Commissioner-General of Immigration reported in 1907 tha thousands of Italians and Greeks "are practically enslaved by the padrones who effect their importation."

Members of the United States Immigration Commission reported forced labor general in the South as well as in the lumber and railroad camps of Minnesota and North Dakota.

> "The contractors make their appearance under the American flag among the half-starved mudsills in some of the most wretched districts of Hungary, Italy or Denmark, tell the stories of fabulous wages to be gotten in America, bambozzle the poor creatures, rope them in and make contracts with them to pay their passage across the sea, upon their agreeing to terms that few can understand, When they reach the districts of this country to which the contractors ship them, they find their golden dreams turned into nightmares, as they are put to work in mines, factories, or on railroads, at even lower wages than those of them whom they throw out of work...."

In his issue of May 18,1884, Swinton described how thousands of Hungarians were being imported to the Connellsville coke regions of Pennsylvania where a young Mr. Frick was making millions. Here, where it was not uncommon to find as many as sixteen or seventeen men and women living in shacks only twelve feet long and eight feet wide, the operators were "pitting the English against the Irish, and vice versa, and the German against both... keeping up a constant war of races....The heartlessness of the operators was fully exhibited by the remark of one...."I would rather have two men killed than one mule.'"

The owners of mines, factories, and railroads used these industrial serfs as strikebreakers. During the Hocking Valley strike of Ohio coal miners a New York concern supplied Italian contract laborers at fifty cents a day per man. The money was paid to the contractor and how much he paid these impoverished immigrants is not of record. Of these poor Italian laborers John Swinton wrote:"...they are hired out and put to work in ignorance of their rights...Honest-hearted, hard-working men... these poor fellows from impoverished Italy, would not play the part of blacklegs (strikebreakers) if they could help it." But they could not help it. Accordingly, they were frequently herded from steerage to a scene of nightmare violence where they passed between lines of struggling men, throwing stones and curses into the gate of a struck mill or mine, while riot raged outside. The vicious snap of rifle fire was almost the first sound heard in America by many a bewildered immigrant.

The immigrant might also expect violence on the frontier. Here ranchers and homesteaders waged a bloody war throughout the eighties.

This report, published in 1911, declared of the Maine lumber industry:

> "There has probably existed in Maine the most complete system of peonage in the entire country....The employment agents misrepresent conditions in the woods..... Arriving at the outskirts of civilization, the laborers are driven in wagons a short distance into the forests and then have to walk, sometimes 60 or 70 miles, into the interior, the roads being impassable for vehicles. The men will then be kept in the heart of the forests for months throughout the winter...."

And, as with Negroes, the foreign-born were on the one hand denied advantages and on the other scorned for being without them. Denied running water, they were said to be against bathing. Forced to live in dark and dilapidated tenements, they were accused of shiftlessness and a lack of neatness. Denied the vote, they were charged with lacking public spirit. Confined to ghettoes, they were charged with clanishness, with being willfully un-American. Because most of them were laborers, they were held to lack intelligence. For years a ditch was regarded as the proper place for an Irishman; that is, if he was working and had a shovel in his hand. This view was later held as to Italians. Of the nation's miners in 1900 44.3 per cent were foreign-born while 61.2 per cent were of foreign parentage. Almost 36 per cent of iron and steel workers were foreign-born, 63 per cent of foreign parentage.

Despite grossly discriminatory pay and inferior living conditions, 14,531,000 immigrants poured into the country between 1901 and 1920. From that prison home of nations that was Austria-Hungary, 3, 042,000 arrived between these years; 3,155,000 arrived from Italy, while 2,519,000 came from Czarist Russia.

Typical were two Italian immigrants who arrived in 1908. They were both poor, both workmen, and they had, too, a certain love of learning, of music, of culture, an ancient humanist tradition which has been the great contribution of the immigrant to America. They were both completely anonymous, of course, as they landed, as were virtually all immigrants, and both were young, Bartolomeo Vanzetti, at twenty, arrived in New York, while Nicola Sacco was only seventeen when he came ashore in Boston. Vanzetti afterwards described his arrival:

Labor's Untold Story - cont.

Here, too, farmers, with guns in hand, fought railroads attempting through court orders to evict them from lands which they had settled and improved in the Dakotas and which railroader James J. Hill, the great "Empire Builder," claimed as his own.

Phenomenal growth, but growth only by violet struggle, seemed to be a law of American life. Farmers strained against the last frontier, clamoring for statehood in the Dakotas, Washington, Montana, Idaho, and Wyoming as they began to organize the powerful Farmers' Alliances soon to number hundreds of thousands of irate farmers, most of them trying to form a third party for the overthrow of Wall Street domination. In the East corporations were combining into great price-fixing, wage-fixing pools, containing the leading corporations of an industry; pools were advancing into huge monopolies known as trusts, more closely knit and centralized than the pools, but the advance was strewn with the wreckage of thousands of enterprises, ruined and cast aside in the fierce fight for monopolistic supremacy.

Nevertheless, to the undiscerning middle-class eye the country seemed peaceful enough. Its streets echoed with the lulling cloppity-clop of gently jogging horses and the click of croquet balls was all that disturbed the serenity of golden afternoons. There were residential districts of pleasant homes in which the most exciting event of the day was the arrival of the boy on the bicycle who reached upwards with a pole and lighted the gas street lamp just at dusk and then went on and on down the street until it was punctuated by dots of yellow in the twilight.

Boyer, Richard O. and Morais, Herbert M. Labor's Untold Story. New York: United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America. 1955, pp.65-67, 2201223.

> "In the immigration station, I had my first surprise. I saw the steerage passengers handled by the officials like so many animals. Not a work of kindness, of encouragement, to lighten the burden of tears that rest heavily upon the newly arrived on American shores. How well I remember standing at the Battery in lower New York upon my arrival, alone, with a few poor belongings in the way of clothes, and very little money. Until yesterday I was among folks who understood me. This morning I seemed to have awakened in a land where my language meant little more to a native (as far as meaning is concerned) than the pitiful noises of a dumb animal. Where was I to go? What was I to do? Here was the promised land. The elevated rattled by and did not answer. The automobiles and the trolleys sped by heedless of me."

He stood there a long time in the growing dusk, the elevated an iron roar that keened into a screeching soprano as it grated around the Battery's curve. Vanzetti loved Puccini, knew Dante, had an honesty within him that made him try hard for truth no matter if it led to danger. For days he searched for a job and for days he knew the faintness of hunger and the hardness of the sidewalk when used for a bed. Finally he found a job as a dishwasher in a fashionable New York club and again his days were typical of the thousands who had just arrived from Europe. Later he wrote:

> "I worked there for three months. The hours were long; the garret where we slept was suffocatingly hot; and the vermin did not permit me to close my eyes....Leaving this place I found the same kind of employment in the Mouquin Restaurant-the pantry was horrible. There was not a single window in it. When the electric light was for some reason out, it was totally dark. The vapor of the boiling water where the plates, pans and silver were washed formed great drops of water on the ceiling, took up all the dust and grime there, then fell slowly one by one upon my head, as I worked below. During working hours the heat was terrific."

Boyer, Richard O. and Morais, Herbert M. Labor's Untold Story. New York: United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, 1955. pp.65-67, 220-223.

FREEDOM AND CRISIS

Reactions to the Newcomers-

The strike at McCormick and the Haymarket Affair occurred just before the peak of the new immigration burst over the United States. But prejudice had already been aroused by the Irish and Germans and by the beginnings of the influx from Eastern and Southern Europe. Both the McCormick strike and the trial of the so-called Haymarket radicals occurred in an atmosphere of fear and bigotry. The Pinkerton report on the 'fighting Irish" molders and the newspaper comments on foreign "anarchists" make it clear that events would have been different in Chicago had the bewildering fact of immigration not existed.

The new immigrants were not only different in culture, language, and religion. They also behaved in different ways. They moved into a society that was no longer predominantly agricultural and rural but urban. So they did not fan out onto farms as most of the old immigrants had done. Instead, they followed the lead of millions of other Americans and settled in cities. Two-thirds of foreign-born residents in the United States lived in towns or cities by 1900.

Bewildered and often victimized in America, new immigrants clustered together in their own city neighborhoods, or ghettos. People from a particular province or even a particular village would move into buildings on the same block, recreating much of the culture of their Old World homes. As the new immigration increased, so did nativist, antiforeign sentiment. Ghetto dwellers earned a reputation among "native" Americans for being clannish, dirty, superstitious and generally undesirable. They were considered strange, chattering in their odd languages, and somehow suited only for city life. Actually, of course, they were no more "natural" city dwellers than the English who came to Virginia and Massachusetts in the seventeenth century. They were simply caught in a phase of the industrial revolution - the creation of an urban society.

Becoming "American" -

In the era of the new immigration the goal was assimilation-taking on the traits of the new society so as to blend with it. But becoming an "American" was not an easy process for most Europeans who immigrated to this country in the late nineteenth century. Foremost was the problem of language. Real assimilation meant being able to take advantage of American economic and political opportunies. And this in turn depended upon learning the language.

FREEDOM AND CRISIS - cont.

Since a knowledge of English brought with it an almost immediate economic advantage over those who could not speak or write the language, most immigrant groups sacrificed the income they would have received from their children's labor to send their children to the free public schools. Workers often attended special night school classes after their exhausting days in the factories. A Jewish immigrant, Mary Antin, wrote:

> Education was free. It was the one thing that my father was able to promise us when he sent for us; surer, safer than bread or shelter. On our second day in the country a little girl from across the alley came and offered to conduct us to school. We five children between us had a few words of English by this time. We knew the word "school." We understood. This child, who had never seen us till yesterday, who could not pronounce our names, who was not much better dressed than we were, still was able to offer us the freedom of the schools of Boston!

Countless immigrants must have felt similar emotions at the discovery that schooling--so restricted in Europe--was so readily available in the United States. As Mary Antin said: "No application made; no questions asked; no examinations, rulings, exclusions; no fees."

Learning English was the first step in assimilation. After that many immigrants joined some form of voluntary association that put them in contact with native-born Americans. The most available of such groups for city dwellers were the political parties. They provided favors, food, and jobs for poor and needy immigrants. They also helped "Americanize" them.

"Boss" Richard Croker of Tammany Hall in New York described the function of his political machine as taking the city's newcomers, who "do not speak our language and do not know our laws, yet are the raw material with which we have to build up the state," and turning them into Americans. He asserted that a political machine like Tammany "looks after them for the sake of their vote, grafts them upon the Republic, makes citizens of them, in short; and although you may not like our motives or our methods, what other agency is there by which so long a row could have been hoed so quickly or so well?"

FREEDOM AND CRISIS - cont.

Another strong influence on the new immigrants was a small number of immigrants who had arrived before the great influx. They had learned English and then helped recruit workers from Europe for factory labor in the United States. They often paid the newcomers' transportation and helped them settle in the ghettos of American cities.

Such men were sometimes called padrones (an Italian word meaning "patrons"). They might be paid by three different groups: (1) employers, for supplying cheap labor; (2) political machines, for delivering the votes of immigrants once they became citizens; and (3) the immigrants themselves, for favors received. Often the padrones - who existed among Jewish, Greek, Armenian, Polish, and other immigrant groups as well as among the Italians - were ward leaders in political organizations. They provided a link between the concerns of the ghetto new-comers and those of the citywide machine.

Weinstein, Allen and Wilson, R. Jackson. Freedom and Crisis: New York: Random House, Inc., 1974, pp.499-503.

IMMIGRATION

Why We Came to America: THE FINNS

A short yet meaningful entry was recorded by the secretary of the Cleveland Rauhan Aatte(Spirit of Peace) Temperance Society on the evening of March 24, 1907. It read. "The topic of our discourse was 'Why did we emigrate to America?' A lively discussion followed."

How, one irresistibly asks, was this pertinent and perennial question answered by the Finnish immigrants? Were they able to discover the forces compelling them to leave their archipelago-like fatherland of lakes and streams, forests of unyielding green and granite ridges? What, indeed, were the results of this earnest, if unsophisticated, inquiry into the motives of emigration?

The reply came a week later. It took the form of a painstakingly inscribed report of a committee chosen to summarize the varied points of view expressed: "The reasons for emigration from Finland are fundamentally economic. The chief cause is the deplorable condition of the working classes, especially the hired help, who are forced to sell for a mere pittance their labor for a year at a time and who have to toil as long frequently as fifteen hours a day at hard work. So it is not surprising that there is a desire to seek one's fortune in a strange land.

"But there are also those who emigrate only to be 'with the others,' and some come to America to develop their political theories under the protection of a 'free country.'"

IMMIGRATION

Polish Migration

Polish Immigration to the United States and Its Distribution

History of Polish immigration. (a) Early immigration.--Polish immigration to the United States dates as far back as the first half of the seventeenth century, when the Zborowski, or Zabrisky family came to this country, and settled near Hackensack, N.Y. Martin Zborowski, a lawyer by profession, made a big fortune in real estate, which in 1878 he left to his son, William Elliot Zborowski. William Elliot married Carey's daughter, whose mother was an Astor, and, dying accidentally in 1903, he left a fortune of $10,000,000. William Elliot's sister, Anna, married Baron Fontenoy. The Zborowskis are the oldest Polish family in the United States.

Other Poles soon followed. According to Father J. Conway, "as early as 1659, the Dutch colonists of Manhattan Island hired a Polish schoolmaster for the education of the youth of the community." During the Revolutionary War came the well-known patriots, Kosciuszko and Pulaski; after the war came the writer and poet, Niemcewicz; and later--Prince Dimitrius A. Galiczyn, who, assuming the name of John Smith, entered the priesthood, was consecrated by Bishop Carrol, of Baltimore, March 16, 1795, and settled in the parish of "Bohemia Manor," Cecil Co., Maryland. The unsuccessful insurrection of 1830-31 led many Poles by way of France and England to seek refuge in this country. The same thing happened in 1848 and in 1863. In 1854 under the leadership of Father Leopold Moczygemba a number of peasant families from Upper Silesia came and settled in Texas, at a place which they named "Panna Marya"--that is, Virgin Mary.

(B) Later immigration.--Polish immigration to the United States on a large scale, however, does not begin until in the seventies of the nineteenth century, following the Franco-Prussian War. Its original source was Prussian Poland--Upper Silesia, Poznania, and West Prussia. Beginning somewhat slowly at first in the seventies the stream of Polish immigration swelled and spread to such proportions as to sweep away with it not only the natural increase of the peasant population, but also a portion of the normal population of these provinces.

To avoid army service young men were leaving the country in droves. Three such young men traveled with us and were of immense help to mother. They helped with the baggage, prayed and amused us children.

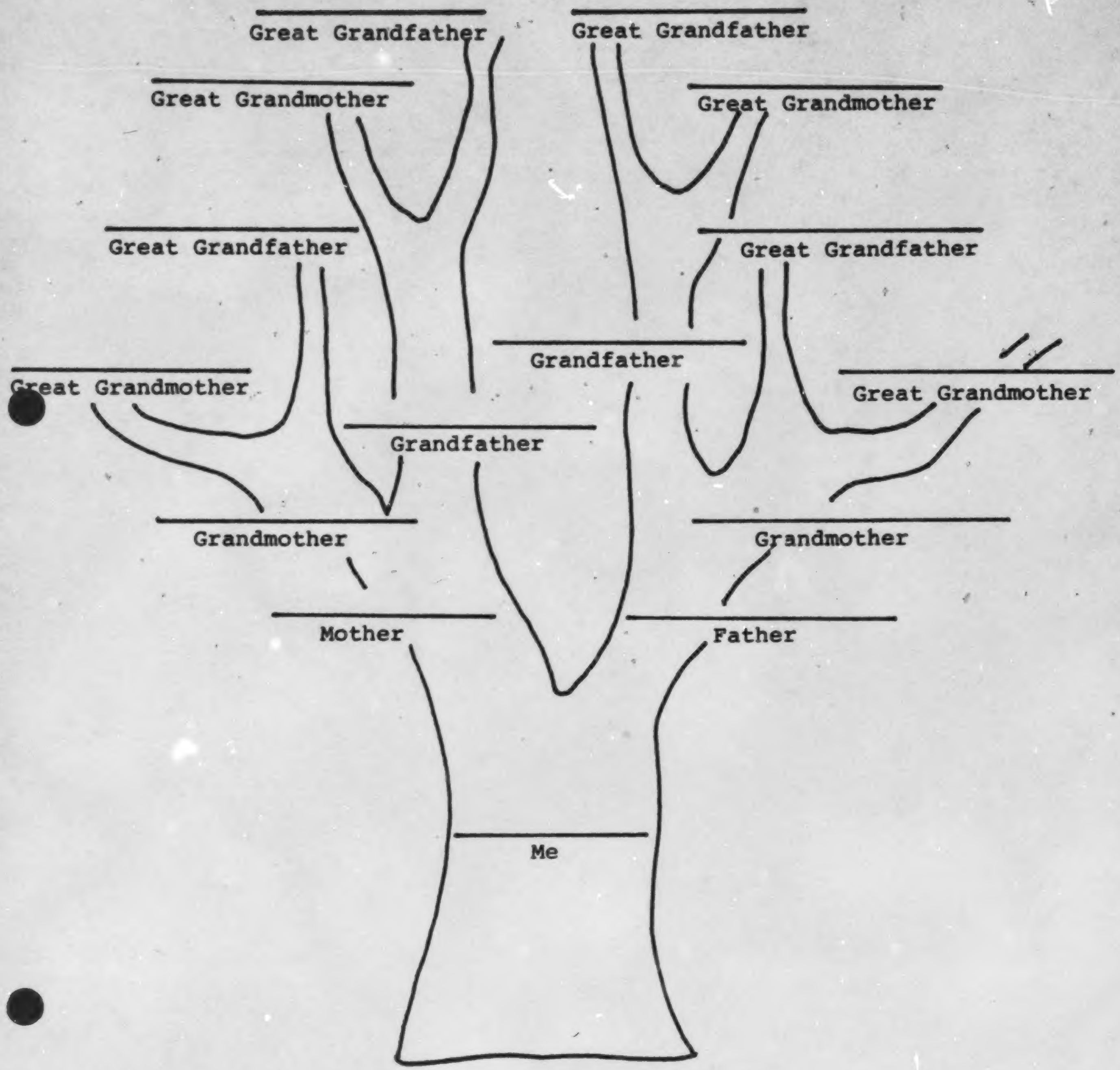
Of the ocean crossing and the ship itself I only recall that the ship was huge and very crowded. We were third class passengers and the five of us occupied one tiny cabin with four bunk beds. At that time the ships had no stabilizers and most passengers became sea-sick soon after the ship went into motion. Many of them, like my mother and my aunt, never left the cabin until the ship reached its destination. Except to take some bread and tea they ate practically nothing. The vomiting of sea-sick people was uncontrolable. The crew came with water hoses to wash down and disinfect the cabins and passageways several times a day. My brothers and I had no such problems. We ran all over the ship, looked into every nook and cranny, made friends with other children and worked up tremendous appetites. The meals were served in two shifts. When the bell rang announcing the first serving the Dubiel youngsters were there. They were also there for the second sitting. No one minded, since most of the adults did not show up for the meals.

I remember the long train ride from New York and also meeting my father at the railroad station in Chicago. This was a reunion after five years of separation.

Migrating experiences varied from individual to individual. These are excerpts from a Polish immigrant woman's recollections about her trip to America. The trip took place in 1913, when she was only eight and one-half years old.

Draw lines of ancestral immigration from old country to new

Construct a family tree or genealogical chart.
Go back as far as you can. Use photographs, dates,
and places of ancestral birth if you have them.


Great Grandfather
Great Grandfather
Great Grandmother
Great Grandmother
Great Grandfather
Great Grandfather
Great Grandmother
Grandfather
Great Grandmother
Grandfather
Grandmother
Grandmother
Mother
Father
Me

MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA

ARAB WORKER

Yemeni Farmworkers in California

It was only after reading about the violent death of Nagi Daifullah in Lamont, California, in August 1973, at the hands of a country sheriff that I became aware of the presence of Yemenis in the United States, particularly as a significant segment of the labor force in California agriculture. The following report is based partly on interviews of 49 Yemeni men composing two crews of orchard workers. What I learned from these men and from my observations of their wretched living conditions sharpened my interest in the study and focussed it on the central importance of those conditions which accounted for their presence in California, namely the conditions of exploitation.

The Yemenis are the latest arrivals in a parade of minorities who have been brought into this relationship by the exploiters, the California growers. What constitutes exploitation is the excessive profits of one party resulting from the under paid labor of the other. While the workers' conditions remained materially unchanged from 1972 to 1973, the net income of the growers of California increased by 62 percent in that year. In 1973, the cash receipts from farming in California totalled over $7.2 billion, almost 13 percent of the total cash receipts from agriculture in the United States.

The growers have a number of advantages which contribute to their power and enable them to maximize profits through the intense exploitation of cheap labor. In the beginning they had relied on native Indians because of their availability, but they soon found it possible and advantageous to import laborers from anywhere in the world: Chinese, Japanese, Filipinos, Punjabis, Southern Europeans, and, of course, Mexicans. In difficult times, as in the depression of the 1930s, even the poor whites hungrily accepted this arrangement.

The first advantage that the growers had was the immigration laws. These laws allowed the importation of vast numbers of foreign laborers and gave the growers a reserve labor force that stripped the local farm worker of his power to shape the relationship to his betterment. While the immigration laws excluded, and still do, a vast number of people from entering the US because of the quota system, these same laws are manipulated to accomodate the needs of powerful business interests, among them the growers of California. Ironically, the latest development in this exploitation is the reverse trend of taking American industries into the home countries of cheap labor and governments that give no protection to the worker. American-based agribusiness must still largely rely on importation.

ARAB WORKERS

Yemeni Farmworkers in California - cont.

Another advantage of the growers is legislative. On the state level the growers have always enjoyed a solid backing in the legislature from the state's rural-based representatives. This advantage, though somewhat weakened by recent reapportionments of representation, needs more analysis than can be attempted in this article. It remains the greatest single impediment to any change in the severe exploitation of the farmworker. We have allowed laws to be passed forbidding Asians from owning or inheriting farm land in California, and forbidding single Oriental males from marrying non-Asians.

On the national level, too, the growers have benefited from the discriminatory Wagner Act of 1935. Though this law, the National Labor Relations Act, authorizes and regulates collective bargaining between management and labor, and protects new unionists from reprisals, it specifically excludes agricultural workers from its scope, leaving them at the mercy of the growers. Another legislative advantage contributes to the economic power of the growers. The generous subsidies, amounting to $105 million in 1973, is one. Another is permitting unbridled expansion to the extent that allows 6 percent of the growers to own 75 percent of California farm land. One company owns and operates 350,000 acres in Kern County alone.

Since our study is concerned specifically with the Yemeni victims of this exploitation, let us look at these people as we find them in the farms of California and look at the conditions which push them into this voracious system of exploitation.

The current profile of the Yemeni farm laborer in the field today is that of a young man in his twenties (one was 16, two were in their early forties). His skin is deeply tanned. His frame is small. He is slender, almost underweight. His clothing is drab but neat and fairly clean. He is shy, definitely wary, hesitant to make any disclosure. He is Moslem. Though he does not observe the fast of Ramadan because of the arduous nature of his work, he does pray five times a day in the field and attends mosque whenever possible. He is married. His wife and children are in Yemen. He speaks no English and makes no attempt to learn it formally. He can read and write Arabic, we were told.

He is seclusive and associates with few people outside the circle of his fellow workers. He avoids drinking, smoking and public entertainment. He is sure to avoid any situation that might cause trouble and to this end he polices his friends. He spends his time with them, talking and playing cards. He sleeps in a bleak, company-owned cinder-block house in a long row. These are like barracks. There is no vegetation though they are among the most verdant orchards and vineyards. In the barracks he is provided only with a bedrame and a mattress. He must supply everything else. He eats communially. An elected worker is charged with buying and cooking for the group and the cost is shared. The food is prepared in large common pots, the portions meted out sparingly in steel bowls and served at raw wooden tables in a dining hall reeking of stale, hot, unventilated air. At one orchard we visited, the food was prepared by the company and served at a price of $3 a day, deducted from the paycheck. It was obvious the company profited on this transaction. 488 of these farm labor camps in California failed to meet the state's housing, safety and sanitation standards in 1974.

Each of the workers we interviewed nominally earned $2.30 an hour, but it later came to light that the grower would pay as little as he could without regard to the minimum wage of $2 set for other than farm labor. The worker's social security contribution is deducted from his pay, but he will never draw the benefits because he will not be allowed to retire in this country. Income tax deduction is as high as 20 percent. Other payments are extracted for workman's compensation, bussing from barracks to the field at a cost of $3.00 a trip, plus petty payroll chiseling made possible by the ignorance of the worker of English and accounting and his inability to challenge it.

For the Yemeni worker to get to the United States, his travel is arranged on a credit system set up by TWA in Los Angeles. A relative, or an interested friend, pays a $100 deposit in California with a cosigner in Yemen for a ticket costing $800 dollars, which the worker must pay with interest in installments. Within hours of his arrival, still dressed in his somber suit and white shirt, looking apprehensive and bewildered, he finds himself in the hiring hall with a group of 11 others. Each group of 12 workers is represented by a spokesman who has already arranged for everyone's social security number. Hired by the dozen, the Yemenis go immediately to work.

ARAB WORKERS

Arab farmworkers in California - cont.

There is neglect of the most elementary precautions and corrections to maintain the health and safety of the workers, even by the severely inadequate occupational health standards in the United States. The risk of accident to migrant farm workers is three times the national average. Preventive health care for the newcomer is minimal. Evergencies and other illnesses are unprovided for. There is no sick pay. Disability compensation is paid for job-related accidents. Workers are not covered by unemployment insurance, nor are they compensated for disabilities incurred off the job. And, because of the high cost of private medical care, the propensity of these workers is to use it only in extreme cases.

In addition to the health problems of the rural poor such as TB, VD, and respiratory infections, the Yemenis often suffer from a special problems endemic in the East, like schistosomiasis. Our institutions fail them. The California State Department of Health is a large and copiously funded bureaucracy. Yet that division of it concerned with farm workers has a miniscule budget of $100,000, and recent cuts have reduced its staff from 28 to 4. These four professionals are not even aware of the Yemenis, let alone their special health problems. A commendable exception to this bleak picture is a clinic in Lamont funded by HEW and staffed by 30 professional, including two doctors. It is trilingual(English, Spanish, Arabic) and makes treatment available to the 1000 or so Yemenis in that area.

Like all other farm laborers, the Yemenis are paid only when they work. And they have to work wherever and whenever work is available. The crew we interviewed in July had worked willingly from sunup to sundown for twelve consecutive days in over 100 degree heat to earn whatever they could. They follow the harvest from the earliest asparagus to the later row crops, the stonefruits and the grapes. After the harvests the companies move them to base camps from which they are then used in the tasks of the fallow season. They prune the fruit trees and gird the grapevines and otherwise assist in the production of the season's crops. When this is done they are on their own. They have to seek their own shelter and generally provide for themselves from what they have earned until spring brings work to the valley again. Social welfare and other assistance programs are theoretically opened to them, but for one reason or another the Yemeni workers seldom qualify for these benefits.

A wretched lot. Isolated, neglected, tired and exploited. Why do they throng for this existence?

ARAB WORKERS

Arab Farmworkers in California - cont.

They go back to Yemen for a while but they return, and others come, as others before them have come for a hundred years. At first they came in small numbers, but now by the thousands. They have been roaming the world for a long time: the East Indies, India, and the major trading centers of the Arab world. It is estimated that of the six or seven million Yemenis, one million adult males are living outside Yemen. This statistic, representing about two-thirds of all Yemeni males, has devastating consequences for the economic and social progress of Yemen itself.

The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 facilitated the opportunity to go west and our data suggests that very shortly after that they began to arrive in America. They came through New York and made their way to other eastern cities such as Buffalo and Detroit. Some went overland to California, and some Yemeni sailors jumped ship in San Francisco. Our oldest informant, a man of 90 who has been in the US since the early 1900s said that his uncle had been here many years before that. Very few of these early immigrants remain. Some went back home. The rest died here.

These early immigrants came chiefly from what is now the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen but which until 1967 was the British Crown Colony of Aden. Their reason for emigration was the extreme poverty of the land, worsened by British imperialism. North Yemen contributed few if any immigrants to the early wave because of the rigid policy of isolation imposed by Imam Yahya, a despot who ruled from 1902 until he was assassinated in 1948. His oppressive and backward rule virtually sealed off his country from the outside world in order to prevent any influences that might erode his power. Following his assassination emigration from North Yemen began. It was not until the last decade that migrant workers were imported in large numbers.

At this juncture it should be pointed out that there are serious discrepancies between the numbers provided by the US Immigration and Naturalization Service (380 alien Yemenis registered in 1974) and those given by the TWA office in Los Angeles (100,000 over the past decade). By our field observation, and from the authoritative people to whom we spoke, we know of the presence of no less than 2,500 Yemenis in Kern County alone. This discrepancy raises many important policy questions bearing on the farm labor scene which need further investigation.

ARAB WORKERS

Arab Farmworkers in California - cont.

Let us now take a closer look at the severe poverty afflicting both North and South Yemen, since this is the primary factor behind this massive migration. The economy of a country is reflected not simply in its GNP and its balance of trade, but primarily in the per capita income of its population. In 1973,a Yemeni's annual income was $94. As in other poor Arab countries, unemployment is endemic. Primitive industry employs less than 0.5% of the working population. Agriculture, in which most of the population is engaged, is on a subsistence level, with a few lucrative exports like coffee and cotton. In short, the economies of both Yemens are heavily dependent on foreign aid from the U.S., the Soviet Union, China and the Arab countries. The life expectancy of a Yemeni is 32 years. Infant mortality is 160 per 1000 live births. Literacy is 10 percent. There is one doctor for every 30,000 people. Daily food intake is only 1900 calories.

A Yemeni worker sends usually $1,000 to $1,500 a year to his family; a sum which represents half his income. The other half is consumed by the imperatives of his existence. Inflation has naturally reduced the sum he can send home because of the increased cost of existing evenin the deprivation characteristic of his life.

Prior to the emergence of the UFW, no alternatives existed for the exploited worker. Even after this organization got under way, the Yemeni found himself in conflict. On the one hand, his consciousness of the power of unity and unionization must have been raised by the expectations of improving his lot. On the other hand, he could not afford to jeopardize his maximum earning for the importance of the dollar back home. His attempts, therefore, to support the UFW were at first tentative and indecisive. Caught between a compelling financial need and the risk involved in joining the Union, it is remarkable that any of them joined at all. And many did join. Mindful of the fact that the Yemenis were especially vulnerable to exploitation because they spoke neither English nor Spanish, the Union made a determined effort to bring them in. Although Cesar Chavez and the UFW are identified in the public mind with Chicanos and the Catholic Church, it is a coalition of many ethnic groups. Cesar Chavez said he would ask no worker what his religion or his politics were. They are vulnerable, as exemplified by the preference of some ranchers to employ Yemenis because they are "easier to control."

ARAB WORKERS

Arab Farmworkers in California - cont.

Data on Yemeni union participation are as yet unavailable since membership was put on a computer by date of joining. One Yemeni was an extremely effective organizer who worked for three years in the late 60's among both Yemenis and Chicanos. A Union spokesperson stated that the Yemenis showed a great deal of understanding and tolerance of other minorities, especially on the picket lines. As members of the UFW, they participated in every phase of activity from the grassroots union basic unit, "the ranch committee," up to demonstrations in Los Angeles and Sacramento on behalf of a labor initative on the state ballot in 1972.

The role played by Nagi Daifullah, a Yemeni worker who was killed by a country sheriff in Lamont, California in August 1973, was a daring example of Yemeni activism. Cesar Chavez recently said: "He often served as an interpreter at union functions, and gave himself fully to the grape strike and the assertion for farm worker justice." An ACLU spokesman said: "He believed that the Phillipinos, Chicanos and Yemenis had enough dignity to stand together." Becoming an activist was a gamble for Nagy and he lost. Although it is difficult to estimate the effect of his death, and that of Juan de la Cruz, on his Yemeni countrymen, one can guess that it may have increased their hesitancy to join active confrontation. But the very fact that he became a martyr to them indicates their conviction in this direction.

Ideals, however, often have to submit to the pragmatisms of life. And we, therefore, find the Yemenis accepting work wherever they could get it. When the Teamsters came into the arena, challenging the jurisdiction of the UFW by signing collusive contracts with the growers, the Yemenis often worked for whichever Union had the contracts. One has to appreciate the intensity of need of the poor and the exploited that would discourage the cooperation essential to all of them. To the Yemeni, singleminded in his hunt, the risks of idealism are often too great to take.

Furthermore, most of the Yemeni workers are unknown even to other Arabs. Since early times, Yemen has occupied a position on the periphery of Arab history. Despite their isolation, or perhaps because of it, their group cohesion is very strong. They have strong family ties, share one goal, and feel they must succeed in order to return home to their waiting families.

Arab Farmworkers in California --cont.

The Yemenis are a "very proud people," said the Canadian-born wife of one of them, married nearly 40 years to an old-timer now retired in Lodi. "They were never lazy. They never forgot their families even though they were away for years." This tribute to her husband's typically Arab culture was very moving. The pride of the Yemeni and his sense of duty and loyalty, have sustained him in the past and have provided the goals which help him transcend his contemporary existential hardships. In recent years, the Yemeni's consciousness of Arab nationalism has increased considerably. Nowhere is his Arab pride more tellingly portrayed than in an interview with a 90 year old Yemeni retired farm worker living in Stockton who was a wise and witty commentator on a myriad of topics ranging from Watergate to inflation. He was a spellbinding conversationalist as he held forth in Arabic and then good English. "Yes" he said softly, "historians said the West would go up and the Arabs would go down." He paused. "Well, its true. The West went up to the moon and what did they find? They found dust." He paused again. "The Arabs, they went down and what did they find? They found oil." He laughed triumphantly and we joined him in relishing what seemed to be the irony of the century. Yet this gentleman was unmindful that his pride in the Arabs comes from a deep well of yearning for human dignity. The oil he bragged about, the wealth and the power it bestows on Saudi Arabia, is only next door to the Yemen he came from--one of the world's poorest countries.

Bisharat, Mary. "Yemeni Farm Workers in California." Arab Workers, Merp Reports #34, January 1975, pp. 22-25.

ARAB WORKER

Immigration and Population

Immigration of the Arabs to the city of Detroit began in the early 1900's, when they were concentrated near the Highland Park Ford Model A facilities. Soon a sizeable Lebanese Arab community developed there, with a mosque, Arab stores and coffeehouses. It was during this time that the first Palestinians and Yemenis came to the Detroit area with the help of other Arabs who had already settled in the area. Not long after, the Ford Motor Company opened a submarine plant in what is now the city of Dearborn. The growth of this plant was instrumental in forming what would become the largest concentrated Arab community in North America. In 1928 Ford announced the movement of most of its Highland Park facilities to Fordson (Dearborn). At that point much of the Highland Park Arab community moved to Dearborn.

During the period from the 1920's to the 1940's, two developments affected auto workers in general. One was the large immigration of Italians, Poles, Germans, and others as well as Arabs. The other was the Great Depression. These led to the great union organizing drives led by the Congress of Industrial Workers (CIO) and the American Communist Party. Southeast Dearborn was regarded as a national organizing center by the Communist Party, and was also the home of the Socialist Labor Party. It was during this period that many Arabs received their initiation into the American labor movement. One example is Ollie Ogdie, who became a foreman in the Highland Park plant in less than two years before he was dismissed in a cyclical layoff and forced to return at starting pay. This led him to join the UAW, whereupon he was fired as an agitator. Though Ogdie was not typical of Arab workers at the time he does represent a portion who did take part in the union movement, Arab workers participated in the great march of 1932, in which thousands of unemployed workers marched on the Ford Rouge complex demanding work and food, and in the Battle of Eagle Pass in which thousands of workers fought Ford goons to keep them from entering the Rouge complex.

The role of Yemeni and Palestinian immigrants in the Arab community at this time was very small due to their small numbers. Older South End residents estimate that there were probably less than twenty Yemenis in the Detroit area at this time. Most had come hoping to find a job, save enough to return home, and buy a small farm or business. This is still a basic motivation for many Yemenis and Palestinians.

ARAB WORKER - cont.

Immigration for Yemeni women was restriced by the Imam's regime to keep foreign money coming in and foreign ideas out. This pattern did not change until the late 1960's with the growth of the revolutionary nationalist movement in Yemen.

In some cases Yemenis did bring their families to the United States when they could afford to bribe the appropriate officials. One of the Adenese officials who used to receive such bribes has since moved to the United States where he has become a UAW offical, appointed by the head of the local in the Dodge Main Gear and Axle Plent to help retard the growth of Arab worker militance.

In the 1960's immigration changed quantitatively and qualitatively due to social and political upheaval in the Arab world. Revolution and civil war in North Yemen allowed more women and more affluent Yemenis to immigrate to the United States. These disruptions put additional pressure on immigrants to aid their homebound relatives. With independence in the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, many who collaborated with the British colonialists were forced to leave with their families. Emigration was primarily due to the destruction of the South Yemeni economy after the British withdrawal. Yemeni emigration was massive. A recently published survey conducted in 1970 estimates that Yemenis make up 11.7% of Dearborn's South End community and 27% of the local Arab community. Palestinian immigration also increased after each of the Arab-Israeli wars, especially that of June 1967.

Ahmed, Ismael. "Organizing an Arab Workers' Cause." Arab Workers, Merp Reports #34, January 1975, p.18.

ARAB WORKER

Arab Workers in Detroit

Early in 1968, black workers began to form radical worker organizations in the automobile factories of the city of Detroit. Shortly afterwards Arab workers began to form similar groups. At least three major problems were common to the organizations. The most critical was that both groups of workers suffered the brunt of the speed-up and the deterioration of working conditions which were prevalent throughout the industry, but especially in the Chrysler plants. Both groups also were unable to look to their established union, the United Auto Workers, for support of grievances. Finally, racial factors which were so paramount to the problems of blacks were also a problem for Arabs. The unifying cords in both movements were based on the fact that they, like other non-white minorities, were the most exploited workers in the auto industry. They had the most unhealthy and unsafe jobs in an industry in which one out of every ten workers was injured or made ill from on the job causes each year.

Chrysler Corporation, Detroit's single largest taxpayer and employer, is the seventh largest corporation in the United States. Since the end of World War II, like all the auto industry, Chrysler has experienced a boom and bust cycle with wild fluctuations in sales, profits, and capital investments. Companies such as Judson, Nash, Fraser, Briggs, Kaiser, and Packard did not survive the process and were liquidated or bought out. Even GMC, the patriarch of auto and the world's largest private employer, made more capital investments in terms of real money in 1956 that it did fifteen years later.

More cars were produced in 1950, 1955, 1960, and 1965 than in 1970. Chrysler suffered more from the roller coaster pattern than the others for a number of reasons. Originally distinguished by superior engineering, Chrysler let its standards fall, accepted being a style follower instead of a style setter, and made poor domestic and foreign investments. This corporate record was capped by a management scandal in the late 1950's that nearly drove Chrysler into bankruptcy. In spite of these developments, Chrysler still had some outstanding profit years, and in Detroit, the prosperity of Chrysler was the key to the prosperity of the city itself.

The Big Three automakers' overriding managerial concern was maximization of profits, and the prime condition for that was control of the shop floor. All operations had to be evaluated in terms of worker-hour and worker-minute costs.

Arab Workers in Detroit - cont.

Time study experts investigated each job to eliminate wasted motion and to invent new procedures for doubling up on work. One worker explained the process by saying, "They tell you, "Put in ten screws',and you do it. Then a couple of weeks later they say, 'Put in fifteen screws,' and next they say, "Well, we don't need you no more, give it to the next man.'" While management could not get back to the "good old days" of Henry Ford when workers were not allowed to talk during lunch, it did eliminate much nonwork time from the pay period: for washing up, job preparation, and similar activities. Overtime became compulsory when the company discovered it was cheaper because of fringe benefits to pay time and a half for overtime than to increase the overall work force by hiring additional workers.

The difficult post-war decades had brought one tremendous advantage to the Big Three automakers: it had allowed them to counterattack the effects of unionism. Frightened by the radical spirit and mass actions of the late 1930's, the Big Three made a deal with the UAW after the war. The union acquiesced to company demands and was rewarded by support for its own internal problems. One of these supports was that the company collected union dues directly from paychecks, freeing the union from the worker weapon of withholding dues if dissatisfied with union leadership. Company and union amiability went so far that during the GM Strike of 1970, the company allowed the union to delay payment of $46 million into the health insurance program because of the enormous financial burden that would place on the union. GM was paid 5% interest by the union after the strike was over. In effect, the company had floated the union a loan in the middle of the strike and was financing a work stoppage against itself. Such cooperation found further expression in three and five year contracts in which the mutual interests of company and union were insulated from annual crisis. The chief consequences of the long contracts were that there would be no work stoppages of any kind. An unauthorized strike (a wildcat) could be punished by the courts as a breach of contract, pitting the offending workers against the union as well as the company.

The only weapon left to the worker was the grievance procedure. If a job was speeded up or an extra procedure added, if safety goggles or gloves were inadequate, if a machine malfunctioned, the worker could not fight it out on the factory floor in a direct confrontation with supervision. The worker could only write out the complaint, file it with union "rep" and wait for the complaint to be processed.

ARAB WORKERS

Arab Workers in Detroit - cont.

Meanwhile whatever the new procedures or safety violations might be, they remained in effect unless they were gross enough to trigger a walkout by all the workers. The grievance procedure became yet another device by which the company and the union eliminated worker participation in decision-making. The company and the union had developed a convenient division of labor. The company looked after the machines and the union looked after the workers. American auto workers were told by their mass media that they had one of the highest standards of living in the world, but they were not told that they also had one of the world's most gruelling standards of work.

A new explosive element in the factories of the late 1960's was the presence of a quarter of a million black workers. Except for Ford, which had a special policy of using large numbers of blacks as an anti-union ploy, none of the auto companies had hired many black workers until the labor shortage of World War II. At that time, blacks, mainly fresh from the South, were hired by the tens of thousands. Detroit blacks often wisecracked that Tojo and Hitler had done more for the emancipation of black labor than Lincoln and Roosevelt. Many of these jobs were taken away in the recessions of the 1950's, but when auto making staged a comeback in the early 1960's blacks began to be rehired.

The exploitation experienced by all workers was compounded for blacks by the institutionalized racism which pervaded every aspect of factory life. The bulk of the new black workers in Detroit proper were employed by Chrysler because Ford and GM had moved most of their operations out of the city. Blacks invariably got the worse and most dangerous jobs: those in the foundry, the body shop, and engine assembly, jobs requiring the greatest physical exertion and jobs which were the noisiest, dirtiest, and riskiest in the plant. Dodge Main was a typical factory: 99% of all general foremen were white, 95% of all foremen were white, 100% of all superintendents were white, 90% of all skilled tradesmen were white, and 90% of all skilled apprentices were white. All the better jobs were overwhelmingly dominated by whites and when whites did have difficult jobs there tended to be two workers assigned to a task that a black worker was expected to do alone. Sick notes signed by black doctors were refused as inadequate. As black revolutionary organizations such as DRUM (Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement) have pointed out, the company deliberately cultivated and institutionalized racism in order that white workers and black workers would face their work-a-day lives in racial conflict rather than in class solidarity.

Possibly the only group more exploited than-blacks at Dodge Main were the recent Arab immigrants. In 1968 they numbered 500, and in the next six years their number increased fourfold. These workers tended to be totally bewildered by American conditions and were fearful of losing their jobs or being deported. The bulk of them were men who lived alone and sent most of their pay to relatives in the Middle East. A February 29, 1972, bulletin put out by SPARK, a radical caucus at Dodge Main described the situation like this:

> Chrysler has a new version of an old trick up their sleeves. In the last year's time they have hired a good many Arab workers. This was done for one reason--Chrysler figures that Arab workers in this country are now in a position that makes it hard to fight back.
>
> They are new to the country so that many people are unsure what few rights they do have. There is always the possibility of being deported. People are trying hard to save as much money as possible in order to bring their family here. And until a person learns English he may not know what is happening around him--and he will find it hard to complain.
>
> Finally, Chrysler figures that no one else will try to help an Arab worker when Chrysler attacks him.
>
> So now Chrysler is attacking. Foremen tell Arab workers to do more work than their jobs call for. Eventually the 'extra' work is 'officially' added to the job. Other Arab workers are kept as floaters and continually put on the worst jobs, despite their seniority. Medical passes get put off. Reliefs are forgotten about....
>
> It's the same kind of shit they have pulled for years with black people. At first, black people were given work only when Chrysler was trying to break a strike.

ARAB WORKERS

Arab Workers in Detroit - cont.

> Chrysler consciously set white workers against black workers--both fighting for the same job, during the desperate high unemployment of the Depression, when there was no union.
>
> Then when Chrysler did hire black workers regularly into the plant, it was only in the foundry(or the body shop a little later)--all the hot, heavy, dirty work around. No way to complain about one job, when all the others in the foundry were just about as bad. And if a black person did complain, he's end up on the street, because of his "attitude".
>
> ...Now today, Chrysler is trying the same thing again--bringing in still another group of workers. Chrysler hopes to make conditions worse for all of us by first attacking conditions for the Arab workers. And they count on turning us against each other so they can do this.

The first line of defense against such policies should have been the union, but the union had lost touch with its mass base, especially among the minorities. At least 30% of the UAW membership was black, yet the twenty-six person executive board had only two blacks, Nelson Jack Edwards and Marcellius Ivory. In 1969, there were only seven blacks out of hundred key staff positions. Fourteen per cent of the union was female but women had even fewer of these posts than blacks and only on representative on the executive board, Olga Madar, was a woman. Once considered the cutting edge of militant industrial unionism, the UAW showed little interest in organizing the numerous non-union feeder shops in the industry, in moving for unionization in the South, or in fighting for substantial gains such as forty hours pay for thirty hours work.

UAW President Walter Reuther, Vice-President Leonard Woodcock, and Secretary-Treasurer Emil Mazey had once belonged to the Socialist Party, but they had grown distant from dissident social movements, and they had come to power within the UAW by leading a purge of the Communist Party and its sympathizers.

Arab Workers in Detroit - cont.

Ruether, who was president until his death in 1972, had once run for Congress as a Socialist and had worked in a Soviet auto plant, but he did not like the militants of the Student Non-Violent Co-Ordinating Committee, the white radicals of Students for a Democratic Society, or peace marchers who insulted the presindent of the United States. Rather than honest-to-goodness slugfists with the corporations, Reuther staged elaborate rituals in which neither side was badly hurt. He enjoyed having his photo taken embracing non-violent activists such as Martin Luther King and Cesar Chavez, but under his leadership the UAW did little to combat racism, antiSemitism, or sexism either within its own ranks or wherever it had influence. William Serrin, a Pulitzer Prize winning reporter for the DETROIT FREE PRESS and author of a book entitled THE COMPANY AND THE UNION, made the trenchant comment that the UAW was a right-of-center union with a left-of-center reputation. However, the UAW's reputation for being progressive on racism was based on the fact that however bad its own record, the UAW still compared favorably with the lilly white and stridently racist unions which composed so much of the rest of the organized labor movement.

Racism had been an explosive factor in the auto industry for decades. Henry Ford had systematized its use as a control device. Beginning in the late 1920's, Ford make it a rule to employ blacks in his factory at every job level in the same percentage as there were blacks in the general population. Ford helped finance the all-black suburb of Inkster and always provided low paying jobs for any unemployed residents. The new style plantation owner also cultivated a select group of black clergy and professionals. Called a humanitarian for his action, Ford's motives were strictly business. His personal views on blacks, Jews, communists, and other "un-American" elements were expressed in the DEARBORN INDEPENDENT, a paper he owned and personally financed for more than a decade even though the paper lost more than five million dollars. Ford considered the Jews to be the world's major problem and in 1938 he went to Nazi Germany to accept an Iron Cross from Adolph Hitler. Dearborn, the city which Ford built, the home of the mammoth River Rouge complex, and the headquarters of the Ford Empire, prohibited black residents. As late as 1970, Orville Hubbard, Dearborn's mayor since 1940, regularly used the word "nigger" in his public utterances.

Ironically, it was Dearborn which came to have the highest concentration of Arabs in the Detroit metropolitan area, and by the early 1970's the anti-Semitism of Dearborn was aimed primarily at Arabs.

ARAB WORKERS

Arab Workers in Detroit - cont.

A small area of Dearborn bound on three sides by factories housed over six thousand people who were almost entirely immigrants or first generation Americans of various nationalities. The largest group, approximately half, were Arabs. Most of these Arabs were Palestinians, Yemenis, and Lebanese. Immigration had experienced an explosion in 1966 when the federal laws were revamped allowing the entry into the United States of people who were immediate relatives of American citizens. The newcomers invariably worked in heavy industry where they went to the same dangerous and arduous jobs as blacks. Many of the new immigrants were Muslim, darker-skinned, and had little formal education.

The city of Dearborn, led by Orville Hubbard, had never made it a secret that it thought of itself as a "white man's town". The new Arabs were seen as so many "white niggers" and efforts to destroy the South End were intensified after 1966. Hubbard wanted to make the South End into an industrial park. He used the granting of building repair permits, strict enforcement of an onerous housing code, and the scaring off of FHA financing to drive out the immigrants. His moves effectively eliminated the private real estate market, and all but forced people to sell their property to the city which promptly tore down all buildings it got title to.

Resistance to the power play by Dearborn was led by an Arab-American, Alan Amen, who headed the Community Council neighborhood organization. The personal history of the Amen family illustrates the kind of lives many Detroit Arabs lived. His grandfather had been born in Lebanon, migrated to the United States and worked forty-two years for the Ford Motor Company. His father was working in his thirty-fifty year as a janitor to Ford in 1974 and had never had the opportunity to learn to read or write English. Alan Amen's brother, a Vietnam veteran, had lost the use of his left hand when it was crushed by machinery at Premier Steel Company. His mother had been a secretary and his wife was a nurse. Like many of the working poor before him, Amen tried to break his family life cycle of factory work by taking a degree at Wayne State University.

Dearborn was taken to court by the Community Council, and in a landmark victory on August 14, 1973, a federal Judge Freeman ruled Mayor Hubbard had improperly conducted a ten year campaign of harassment. Judge Freeman agreed to twenty-eight of the thirty-three grievances in a decision that saved the South End community from further destruction. The Community Council was legally represented by Abdeen Jabara and by the Center of Urban Law and Housing at the University of Detroit Law School, a Jesuit Institution.

Arab Workers in Detroit - cont.

Zakhour Yousseff of the Psychology Department of Eastern Michigan University and Barbara Aswad of Wayne State's Anthropology Department offered key testimony on the disruption of cultural vitality by the city's activities. Jabara was not as pleased as might be expected with the court victory, "It wasn't won on community rights, but on the constitutional principle of due process of law to protect the taking of private property."

The problems of the Dearborn community were repeated in the rest of the metropolitan area. In an article in the ARAB-AMERICAN UNIVERSITY GRADUATE NEWSLETTER of October, 1973, Amen stated that 2,000 of the 35,000 workers at Ford Rouge were Arabs. He was incensed that UAW Ford Local 600, the largest local in the union, had bought $300,000 in Israeli bonds in a decision made without rank and file approval. The UAW as a whole had bought over $750,000 of the five-and-a-half per cent interest bonds. By mid-1973, Arab members of the UAW were trying to organize serious opposition to the union leadership which they felt did not represent or respect them. They had many of the same on-the-job problems as blacks and they asked blacks how they would feel if the UAW bought the national bonds of the Union of South Africa or Rhodesia. The potential power of the Arab workers was something to be reckoned with. An informal UAW survey in three plants disclosed that Chrysler Jefferson Assembly had 1,400 Arab workers, Chrysler Mound Road had 800, and the Hamtramck complex which included Dodge Main had almost 2,000. The UAW national membership had at least 15,000 Arab workers out of a total membership of about 1.4 million, most of whom were in the Detroit area.

During the period 1968 through 1970, when black workers with an explicit Marxist program had staged strikes and demonstrations at Dodge Main, many of the Arab workers had not participated for fear of losing their jobs. By 1973, however, they had gained in numbers and militancy both in their communities and in their workplaces. On October 14, 1973, marching seventy abreast, three thousand Arabs staged a militant parade from the streets of the South End in Dearborn to the offices of Local 600 where they protested UAW bond purchases. On November 28, when Leonard Woodcock was being presented the Humanitarian Award of the B'nai Brith at a $100 -a-plate dinner attended by one thousand guests, two thousand Arabs and their supporters demonstrated outside. Most of the demonstrators were workers. Many had walked off their jobs and had agitated among other workers to do the same.

Georgakas, Dan. "Arab Workers in Detroit." Arab Workers,
Merp Reports #34, January 1975, pp.13-15.

ARABIC SPEAKING COMMUNITIES IN AMERICAN CITIES

Introduction and Overview

The interest and revival of ethnic groups in themselves and in other ethnic groups has become pronounced in the late 1960s and 1970s. The Arabic speaking community is no exception. The once popular theories and slogans of the melting pot and assimilation grew into those of blending by religious affiliation, pluralism and ethnic revival within a context of class structure and dominance. The fact became obvious that many members of ethnic groups in America had not lost their pride in their cultural values and customs, and perhaps in response to the success of the new expression of cultural identity by the dominated Black societies, and in addition to a need for identity in the troubled period of social fragmentation during the war years of the 1960s, we find ethnic revitalization.

In the case of the Middle Eastern communities, however, we cannot look only to the conditions existing in the complexities of urban American life. Part of the stimulus for ethnic reemergence is from the outside, caused by the conflicts in the Middle East itself, and the American communities' growing alienation from U. S. national policies which have heavily supported Israel in and since its creation in 1948. Another factor we may mention is the continued and increased connections between the communities here and those in the Middle East. In part this is due to the continuing introduction into the communities of refugees and immigrants from the Mid-East. The establishment of inexpensive air charter flights has also provided more frequent communication than had ever been thought possible. These trips are welcomed by most Middle Eastern countries as boosts for their economies. Thus communication networks which had never really been severed, are strengthened, old relationships reestablished and new ones created.

Because Middle Eastern Arabic speaking peoples share a common historical and cultural heritage generally, and because there is a common cultural revival and interest in their heritage, they may be chosen as a basis for a book. However, there are numerous subgroups within this broad category of peoples and the immigrants do not reflect all the social groupings in the Middle East. In fact most come from one region of the Middle East and are of a religious minority status in the broad area of the Mid-East. One of the smallest religious categories in the Americas is that of Sunni Muslims, the religious affiliation of the vast majority in the Arab world. Approximately ninety percent of the immigrants and their descendents are Christians from the Lebanese region.

Christians number about six percent in the Arab world, but significantly, within the state of Lebanon, they are not a minority since they form approximately half of that population and hold positions of strong political and economic power. The role of religious categories as social groups operating within a class structure is far more important in a country like Lebanon than for example Egypt where the vast majority belong to one religious sect. Nevertheless we shall pay some attention to this factor as it is operative in this country.

In the area of socio-economic class, we find that the majority of the immigrants, Muslim and Christian alike, came neither from the elite nor the sharecropping classes, but from towns or villages in the rural areas where most owned some property in the form of kin units and were dependent upon their crops for subsistence as well as for cash. Some were small merchants, or combined these functions. Many Lebanese villages are considered prosperous and the people more literate than numerous other villagers in the Mid-East. In addition, due to the association of Lebanon with foreign trade, many towns and villages are influenced by contacts of their members with foreign countries in Africa, Latin America and the North Americas. In general they initially became peddlers, farmers and small merchants in the areas to which they migrated. Later some became larger merchants, white collar workers and professionals. Money was sent back to relatives, marriages were arranged and communications continued.

The fact that most migrants are of minority status, a few of refugee status such as the Palestinian refugees, and in recent times some are members of the educated "brain drain" phenonema, relates to a combination of the following factors: the history and geographical location of these groups, to their relations with past empires and with the dominant industrialized West, as well as to the rise of nationalism in the Middle East and to Western immigration policies which at various times have favored categories of relatives, skilled persons and refugees. The priority given to relatives by these policies resulted in a process known as "chain migration" so that certain kin groups and villages or towns have a high percentage of immigrants clustered in certain regions. In general, most early immigrants (those in the late 19th and early 20th Centuries) planned to stay in the West only long enough to earn money and return to their villages or towns. A number of factors prevented this and most settled down, brought their relatives here and raised families.

A different type of migration is seen however, in the case of the Yemanis where primarily men have come to work, save money and return to Yeman (see Aswad paper). In all cases, significant amounts of money have been sent back to relatives. In most of our studies, the importance of family and extended kinship relations is clear. One has only be be in the Middle East a short time to be aware of the importance of these units socially, economically and psychologically. Although there are varieties of relationships, they have been found essential in the process of migration and adaptation, particularly inital adaptation, and operate within the contexts of other social units such as the community or religious association.

Let us consider briefly the position of minorities under the Turkish Ottoman and Western Empires (mainly British and French), and then discuss the specific position of Lebanon. The official religious affiliation of the land-based Ottoman regime, which ruled the region for four hundred years until the end of World War I, was Sunni Islam. In areas of direct governmental control such as cities, sea coasts and plains, religious minorities usually served in merchant positions. In areas of indirect control, such as mountanious regions like Lebanon or peripherial areas, both Christian and Muslim minorities held varied positions including political, landowning and peasant statuses. Religious minorities were also found along certain ecological or ethnic boundaries.

In the mid-19th century, European colonial powers began to gain economic power in the Mid-East and undermine Ottoman control. By the end of World War I, the Western states carved up the Arab world by drawing national boundaries, and then took official political control of the regions through Mandate and Protectorate power. In their policies of control, they favored and established ties with several social categories. One was the rich landowning elites, another the merchant and minority groups. Thus, although the Middle East is part of the basically agrarian regions which became dominated by the expanding industrial powers, not all groups became involved in this process in the same fashion. Some cemented links with the West, some were extremely exploited by it, particularly groups such as the poor peasants of Egypt who provided cheap labor to pick cotton for British textile mills. Later, numerous sectors resisted the domination. Most Middle Eastern countries did not receive their political independence until after numerous struggles and the end of World War II. The rise of nationalism as a reaction to Western control, placed pressures on social groups that had sided with the West. This was also combined later in some countries with pressure on merchant groups by socialistic governments.

It was during the period of British Colonial rule in Palestine, and increasingly after the atrocities of World War II in Europe, that we find the migration of Europeans of Jewish faith and the eventual Zionist occupation and wars which resulted in the creation primarily by Western powers of a Jewish state in 1948, and the consequent displacement and impoverishment of most Palestinians. Today the number of Palestinians is over two million. Since the 1967 War and further Israeli occupation of Arab lands, we now find new refugees, Palestinian as well as Syrian and Egyptian. The peasantry and lower classes became the most dispossessed, but other Palestinians found themselves often in a position of a resented minority in other countries. The reader is referred to Sharabi (1962, 1966, 1969) for further discussion of these historical periods in the Arab world.

Within this general historical framework, Lebanon has a specific history and social organization. It is characterized by a decentralized organization based to a high extend upon numerous religious sects and a strong emphasis upon kinship and village affiliation. These social categories operate within a class system in which some of the elites have been rural based as well as urban based. (In most areas of the Middle East, dominant elite classes are urban based). In the mid-19th century Lebanon was a prominent silk producer and came under French economic influence. During the four hundred years of Ottoman rule and before, its mountainous terrain provided a region for religious minorities. When the Western colonial powers entered the area, the various religious groups became highly politicized. The French extended educational, economic and political ties to the Catholic Maronites, one of the largest religious sects in Lebanon. The Russians favored the Greek Orthodox and the British, favoring the Jews and Christians of Palestine, favored the Druze in Lebanon. In Lebanon some religious groups are more numberous and powerful than others, but each is economically stratified within itself. That is there are Maronite merchants, bureaucrats and peasants, there are Druze landlords and peasants.

Elements of structural pluralism are built into the Lebanese society through such factors as the constitution which sets a quota for the numbers of members serving from each religious group. High positions are also specified by tradition as to religious affiliation. The President is traditionally a Maronite Catholic, the Prime Minister Sunni Muslim and so forth. Presently the elites of each group, although favoring different political allies and policies, cooperate in the parliament, while parties which cross religious sects among lower and other classes are often discouraged or illegal.

Thus there is a consensus among the top classes. It should be added however that cross national and cross religious parties have been increasing in strength recently. Religious groups are highly endogamous, that is they marry within their unit. To a great extent these religious boundaries correspond with preference for marriage within village or kin units. Civil marriages are seldom practiced in Lebanon, and intermarriage is usually difficult with conversion required.

Numerous studies and discussions have been made of this system. Some have termed it a mosaic, some a plural society, others emphasize the class aspects. One distinction that seems important to the editor here in comparing a system such as Lebanon and the elements of ethnic revival in America is the distinction between pluralistic and cultural elements. For example in terms of cultural traits, the Maronite and Druze villager are very similar, and certainly share a more similar life-style than either do with members of their elite urban co-religionists. Many of the elements of ethnic revival in the U.S. emphasize shared Middle Eastern cultural traits.

In contrast to decentralized Lebanon, we find a country such as Egypt. Organized around intensive irrigation cultivation along the Nile River, its population is dense and historically it has been associated with a highly stratified socio-economic class system until the Nasser regime in the 1950s. The exploitative relationship it suffered under the British resulted in intensification of production and overpopulation, and a depressed standard of living for the vast majority of the Egyptian population, the peasantry. Although there are numerous reforms and planning, Egypt still suffers from the problems intensified during that period. Very few Egyptians have migrated to the West, although there is currently an inflow of members of the primary Christian minority, the Copts.

In other areas of the Middle East, we find such sparsely populated areas as the Arabian Peninsula which have, in contrast to Egypt, rich oil fields. These countries are becoming increasingly powerful, while until forty or so years ago they emphasized herding, shipping and limited agriculture. At the tip of the Peninsula is the mountainous regions and seacoasts of the Yemans, where rainfall is more plentiful and agriculture and shipping predominate. The ecological variety therefore is great between regions in the Middle East, and within regions we find great social differences between classes, between some urban and rural regions and between the variety of towns, cities and villages themselves.

Thus when we look at the dynamics of migration and adapation to a new society, it is obvious that we must consider the conditions and social position of the people in their country of origin as well as the conditions into which they entered. There are also obvious and significant differences according to the time period in which the immigrants arrived and differences between the various generations. The varieties are extensive as we will see in the following essays. The social separations of groups in the home country continue in the new country and influence much of the day to day social activity and attitudes. For example Muslim groups generally identify more with Arab causes and less with the West than say the Catholic Lebanese Maronites. Yet during times of mutual crises or in the social context of groups with different cultural and linguistic characteristics, a sense of ethnicity built on shared cultural traits occurs. One such example of this latter situation is found in the institution of Ethnic Festivals in the city of Detroit. Middle Eastern political situations find the groups reflecting the attitudes and countries of their origin, sometimes bringing unity, sometimes representing differences.

The communities are now part of the class and ethnic system of America, but in different positions. Most entered near the bottom as most immigrants from rural regions do, and many worked and were allowed into positions of upward mobility, others are in the dominated lower classes. A fairly unusual case would be the example of the Ramallah community whose members had a significant degree of education before entering the U.S.

The editor does not wish to overemphasize religious associations. However, the factors of class origins and occupations, kinship and national affiliations are discussed in most of the articles. Also, for the reader not familiar with the religious categories represented here, a brief explanation of the history of the Muslim and Christian sects is justified.

The Christian sects are numerous and sometimes confusing to the Westerner. A diagram is provided in the appendix which shows the major schisms and their approximate dates. We may summarize here the two major splits which resulted in the numerous Christian sects. The first schism occurred when the various national sects left the Orthodox Byzantine Church because of doctrinal divergences or political disputs. Most of these occurred between 431 A.D. and 680 A.D. This resulted in the formation of the Nestorian, Old Syrain (Jacobite), Armenian, Coptic and Abyssinian Churches.

Together with the Orthodox Church, they are now called the "Independent Eastern Churches". The second split occurred after the major division of the Roman Catholic Latin West from the Greek Orthodox East in 1054 A.D. Each of the Independent Eastern Churches had a splinter group which united with the Roman Catholic Church and they were collectively called the "Uniates". The group that split from the Nestorian Church was called the Chaldean Church, those that split from the Eastern (Greek) Orthodox were called Greek Catholics (often called Melkites), from the Old Syrians came the Syrian Catholics, from the Armenian Church came the Armenian Catholics, from the Coptic Church, the Coptic Catholics, etc. The Maronites, although becoming close to Rome in 1182 A.D., did not effect union until the eighteenth century. They did not split as a church and they claim an uninterrupted communion with the Roman Church. We should mention that there are very few Protestants in the Middle East, although some were converted in mission schools.

In Islam, there are two main divisions, the Sunni and the Shia. The great split took place in the first century of Islam and the origin of the split involved the political control of the Arab Empire. The major rivalry was between Ali, the fourth Caliph and cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet Muhammad, whose capital was at Kufa in Iraq, and Muawiya of the Umayya family of Mecca who had moved his capital to Syria. The supporters of Ali became the Shia and after his fall the sect became involved in a social struggle against the aristocracy. The sunni are divided into four schools of law, but these are not important in their organization today in most areas. The Shia are divided into four subdivisions that are separated by geography and on the issue of the last in the line of Imama. In the Arab world, the Sunnis outnumber the Shia, however in Lebanon the relative proportion of Shia is high. One article in our book discusses a Druze community from Lebanon. This sect was founded in the eleventh century and which most scholars agree is greatly influenced by the Ismaeliya Shia sect.

There are other communities and subgroups in America which are not represented in our collection. Some have been previously discussed in other publications. The type of migration involved in the "brain drain" phenomena is well discussed by Elkholy and Suleiman (1969), and it is important to mention that these educated immigrants as well as the students in universities have had an important part in the political and cultural revival of the American communities. They differ somewhat from the communities in that many are not of rural backgrounds, and thus often do not have as extensive village, town or kin ties here. Also many tend to be from upper classes rather than lower classes.

Overview of Essays

When scholars choose to conduct a study, they tend to pick one subcultural group, or to conduct a cross sub-cultural analysis. The papers in this collection represent primarily the first category, that of looking at one localized sub-cultural group. Some are distinguished primarily by religious identification such as the Maronites of Detroit, some by the origin of their village or city in the home country, such as the Ramallah community, some by their special location and socio-economic status in this country, such as the South End auto workers of Dearborn. Most communities share a combination of these factors, a common geographical origin, a common religious faith, a common general location, and a general occupation or class level.

Turning to the communities in America and their similarities and differences, the distinction made in the article by Swan and Saba regarding types of ethnic communities in the U.S. is a valuable one, and we can use it to classify the studies. In category one, we find the "Ethnic Enclave" which is described as a geographically localized community built on primary relationships, and maintaining a high degree of economic and some political control within the community. An example of this type of community is the Amish in the U.S. We do not have an example of such an enclave in our studies. In category two, they list "Ethnic Neighborhoods or Ethnic Primary Communities." These resemble the first type in their geographical localization and close social relationships, but the main economic and political controls are outside the community. The Muslim community of auto workers in the South End of Dearborn would fit into this category (see Aswad and Wigle articles). The third category is termed "Ethnic Secondary Communities" and is characteristic of most of the other groups discussed here. In this class there is no compact geographical clustering although there is often a larger regional clustering, and the community is a voluntary association organized around a church, or other type of association. The Maronites (article by Yehia) and the Ramallah community (Swan & Saba), fit this category. The fourth category is that of an "Ethnic Public" in which the population is scattered but retains "an interest" in ethnic affairs and expresses their interest primarily in the public through the mass media and pressure.groups. It seems that this category is somewhat weak among the Arabic speaking population due to the strength of category three, but such a trend is emerging through organizations which cross-cut type three groups. One of these is the Association of Arab-American Graduates, another is the newly created Arab-American Immigrants.

The reader will notice that many of the studies deal with communities in the Detroit region. This is due to several factors, one is that the Detroit community is one of the largest Arabic speaking centers in the U. S. with over 70,000 members, and it is also due to the fact that an increasing number of studies are available on this community. Because of this, a map has been provided of the metropolitan region so that the reader may be able to identify the locations discussed in the papers. A brief mention can be made here regarding the general characteristics of Detroit's ethnic movement as it relates to specific communities.

It is a fact of Detroit ethnic and class history that various groups have moved from the central city along street corridors which fan into the suburbs. The move accompanied both the expansion of businesses into these areas and the increased accessability of transportation. It also was a negative reaction to the increasing Black population in the center city, the members of which were barred from residing in the suburbs. The ethnic groups formed what we have referred to as secondary ethnic communities and ethnic publics in the suburbs. In most cases, the movement was accompanied by a rise in occupational, economic and educational status.

The Arabic speaking population, followed this pattern, and its movement resulted in a dispersion primarily according to religious divisions. But we must remember that these divisions are also similtaneously divisions which generally correspond to regional and kinship groupings in the home country. Thus, most Maronites moved out Jefferson Ave., and now live in East Detroit and the adjacent suburbs of Roseville, Harper Woods and the Grosse Pointes. The Chaldeans originally settled in central Detroit and Highland Park and migrated to north Detroit and the northern suburb of Southfield. Recent Chaldean immigrants live in Detroit and Highland Park. Most Muslims (Southern Lebanese, Palestinians, etc.) had settled in central Detroit and Highland Park around the first Ford Assembly plant, and moved to Southeast Dearborn near the Ford Rouge Plant when it was constructed in 1924. This community has remained a region which continuously receives Muslim immigrants, and is the only Middle Eastern community in the Detroit region whose members are primarily of the unskilled laboring class. In recent years some of its Yemani population has been moving to Hamtramck where they work in Chrysler plants. Some upwardly mobile persons have moved from the South End of Dearborn to its higher income western section and other western suburbs. The Ramallah community, immigrating somewhat later than the other groups and having educational, occupational and language skills which provided mobility, are fairly scattered but to some extent they live in the general region of Livonia and Garden City.

Let us now consider each study briefly.

In Sengstock's paper we find the interesting case of a small minority in the Arab world, the Catholic Chaldeans of Northern Iraq and Baghdad, who have successfully established themselves in an occupational niche in Detroit. Although there are other aspects of their organization not discussed here but which can be found elsewhere (Sengstock 1067), this paper has focused on one of the most fundamental factors, the economic, which has contributed to their maintenance of identity and their adaptation to U. S. culture. Their occupation was at one time almost totally restricted to the retail grocery business in central Detroit. As members became successful, Sengstock discusses their movement and mobility. The editor might add that the community of Telkeif straddles a boundary between two Muslim ethnic groups, the Kurds and the Arabs in northern Iraq. Also, historically some of the members of this community served as middlemen in the sable fur trade between Russia (via the Kurds) and the British. Later some members also served in the colonial British bureaucracy in Baghdad. Thus, in some ways, elements of their pre-migration social situation can be seen as a preadaptation to serving in a merchant niche in the U.S. ghetto area. The recent influx of new members in large numbers is providing some stress in the community since the nature of the economic niche is changing. The maintenance of small retail stores in the ghetto has become a dangerous occupation, and many of the older members are more affluent now. There has been some effect of separating the community (Bannon 1972).

Sweet's study well describes the method by which a Middle Eastern village community reconstitutes itself in an industrial society. Having studied the Druze village in Lebanon and the community in Canada, she is particularly qualified to make comments on this experience. Her writing also reflects many of the emotions that are felt in this communion. The recent cause for migration from the village has been due to the pressures of repeated Israeli bombings and destruction of much of the village in 1972. In general, the experience reflects the principle of chain migration, whereby members of one society follow in chain like fashion to live with their kinsmen or villagemates.

In her study she concludes that the corporate idustrialism of Canada and its class structure inhibits mobility and assimilation of those without the proper credentials and "Invites no one to give up his class, family and clan life for the industrial alternative: vagrancy and welfare."

ARABIC SPEAKING COMMUNITIES IN AMERICAN CITIES - cont.

Aswad's study of the lower-middle income working class Muslim community in the South End of Dearborn analyzes the situation of a primary ethnic community that finds itself faced with an attempt to destroy it through "urban renewal" policies which would convert the region to industrial use. The members of this community are primarily from Southern Lebanon, Palestine and Yeman. The entire geographical community of five thousand persons is located under the Ford Rouge stacks and has other ethnic groups in it, however, its core and flavor are Middle Eastern. There are coffee houses, a mosque and religious hall, plus numerous Arabic restaurants and grocery shops which serve the community. The author reviews the closeness of primary social and economic ties in the community and their positive sentiments toward it. She also discusses the relationship of this area to the rest of Dearborn and to Ford, and the history of the struggle with the City to prevent its destruction. Most recently the community brought a class action legal suit against the city and a Federal judge found that the City was using illegal means to destroy the community. The situation of struggle by a weaker force against a City the nature of Dearborn created divisions within the community as well as provided a new organization, and in many ways the struggle is found to be analygous to those of imperialized or colonized communities.

Swan and Saba' paper concerns a community that has migrated from the small city of Ramallah, Palestine. One of the distinctive features of this community is the high level of preadaptation to Western customs through the Quaker school and the positions of some in the government of the British Mandate in Palestine. Their members belong to the Greek Orthodox, the Greek Catholic and Protestant Churches and thus there is no one ethnic church. However, they were a Christian minority and in some ways are similar to the Chaldeans, although the closeness of their town to the cosmopolitan Jerusalem, their advanced educational backgrounds and knowledge of English gave them credentials for a different type of mobility in U.S. society. Most received their educations in Palestine or a combination in that country and the U.S. Today 24% are professionals, 13% managers and 41% are in white collar jobs. (Saba 1971:114). The community is a secondary community and has a very high rate of endogamy (75%). This endogamous rate includes people from Ramallah who live in other parts of the U.S. as well as in the Detroit region itself. The authors find that most left to find better employment, but also the pressures of the Palestine War in 1947, the rise of nationalism and the occupation of Ramallah by Israel in 1967 gave further impetus to continued migration. The community retains a strong interest in their country and town and the authors discuss aspects of their identification.

Kayal addresses himself to the history of Syrian and Lebanese Christians as a minority and their relationships to the established Christian Churches in the West. Their position as a minority has made it difficult for them to totally identify with Arab culture and causes. However to totally integrate with the Western churches meant for the Catholics to Latinize, and this they feared would mean the demise of their religious tradition and a threat to their community. Thus he notes a compromise in which they lived a dual life style, in public they assimilated and religiously were latinized, in private they maintained elements of their own identification.

His data is taken from his study of Melkite community in Brooklyn and his article principally concerns the Catholic Communities of Lebanon and Syria, and Maronites and Melkites. He does not deal with the Eastern (Greek) Orthodox communities except to say that they faced similar problems. It might be added that in the Middle East, the Orthodox were not tied as closely to Western policies as the Catholic communities. Kayal states that while publically assimilating to the Western religious churches, distinctiveness is often found by marrying other Christians of Arab background.

Yehia's study of the Maronite community in Detroit tells us of the first settling of this community in the heart of Detroit and its migration to the eastern suburbs, as some members went from occupations of small retailers and industrial workers to that of realtors and insurance brokers. Many of the second generation became professionals.

This community is the largest community from the Middle East in Detroit, numbering approximately 20,000. Yehia found that her respondents appear to be highly assimilated into American culture. Most have American names, the majority speak English at home, and most identify themselves as American Lebanese. It is a secondary community whose members belong to clubs related to the Maronite Church and to their villages of origin as well as to larger Lebanese societies. She finds a high rate of endogamy within the religion (81%) and found that none of her respondents had married with other Middle Eastern Catholic groups such as the Melkites or Chaldeans, but rather married with other nationality Catholics, such as Italians. Perhaps the difference in her marriage figures and Kayal's high rate of out-marriage by the Syrian Melkites is due to the larger size and concentration of Maronite groups both in the U.S. and Lebanon, versus the smaller size and concentration of the Melkites in the U.S. and Syria.

Wigle's study also concerns the South End Muslim community of Dearborn. She analyzes the four variables of kinship, religion, community and nationality. She argues for the importance of the extended family, a notion contrary to some previous ideas that industrialization is associated with the break-up of the large family. She states that it has been modified but is essential. She also notes the position of the Zaim, or influencial politician and its adaption to local politics. Islam she finds is strongly associated with the other variables, and is associated with the political events in the Middle East. The identification of persons in this area as Arabs is stronger than in most of the previous communities, however, there are also distinctive nationality affiliations which form sub-groups in the community. Finally she finds, as did Elkholy in an earlier study (1966), that among the third generation there is a new emphasis upon Arab culture which is stronger than the somewhat assimilationist trend of the second generation.

Lastly, Rouchdy, as a linguist and native speaker of Arabic, has studied the effect that Arabic has on English and vice versa among bilingual Arab American children in the South End of Dearborn. She found that bilingualism does effect the subject's performance in Arabic and English and that we cannot judge performance unless we consider both domains of the bilingual. She also concludes that since Arabic is the socially dominant language in that community, it ought to be part of the school curriculum there.

The bibliography on Arab-Americans has been primarily composed by Dr. Kayal, and is intended to provide the reader who is interested in pursuing this area of study further with a basic list for reading and research.

Areas for further research

It is important to mention that a book of this nature does not portray all the sparkle, warmth and spirit of the communities, a spirit that is represented for example in the Arab Ethnic Festivals in Detroit, The beautiful colors of Arab dresses and dances, the food, and the pride that is evident in all the various groups as they work separately and jointly in that successful event of four days, relates to the rise of ethnic feeling among the groups, and is seemingly a trend toward the emergence of a stronger single identity among the groups. In this vein, I am sure that many members of the communities discussed here may feel while reading these essays that, "this isn't how we live, these are mainly numbers."

Both types of reporting are necessary and we may hope that in the future, additional articles will also be written about life in the communities to supplement these.

It is also felt by the author that there is room for comparative studies, that is comparative studies of sub-groups such as these, as well as comparative studies with other ethnic groups according to criteria of class or other background materials such as urban rural differences, etc. so that we may get additional understanding of the processes and strategies involved in adaptation to American life and international life. Analysis of this type should also focus on the effect of migration on the community which the migrant has left. Thus while the majority of our studies here show the facet of adaptation here, the process is one of interaction, and future studies might attempt to include the total environment of the immigrant communities.

Aswad, Barbara C. Arabic Speaking Communities in American Cities. New York: The Center for Migration Studies of New York, Inc., 1974, pp.1-17.

OUR UGLY-ARAB COMPLEX

Starting with his extraordinary televised three-day visit to Israel, Anwar Sadat has transformed more than the political landscape of the Middle East. He has surely also transformed, or at least substantially altered, the American perception of the Arab and his cause. Unlike the set pieces to which we have become accustomed-the oil-rich sheik, the terrorist, the ululating crowd-Sadat was neither alarming nor strange. He was politically plausible and humanly familiar.

That any of this should have come as a revelation to anyone is a comment on two things. One is our own cultural insularity. The other is the general willingness of Arab leaders to let their purposes be defined by the aberrant and extreme. Sadat did not destroy these two pillars of our misunderstanding. But he made a powerful and valuable assault on them, one that needs to be continued.

A few years ago I got a call from a Palestinian-born Arab who was the head of a national Arab-American lobbying organization. He wanted to pursue some things I had said in a column about General George Brown and American Jews, and suggested that we meet for lunch-which we did. It was a pleasant and instructive encounter, but what I remember best about it was not our discussion of the Middle East realities. Rather, it was his very first remark to me after we had both been seated in the overpriced, posh restaurant. Did I mind if he asked a personal question? Well... no, go right ahead. It was this: "Tell me frankly now, what did you think I would look like?"

THE CARICATURE IMAGE

I assured my new friend that in fact I had not envisioned what he suspected: a scruffy fellow in unkempt national dress, with a couple of sheep tethered to his chair. Still, he had a point. Some vague thrill of danger or at least of the exotic had walked with me from my office to our lunching place, only to be dissipated by his business-suited presence. And I think it tells you something about the power of the Arab caricature in our culture that this could still be true in Washington in the 1970s-a city of diplomats, journalists and Foreign Service officers who are eager to share their firsthand experience of the Middle East.

Our Ugly-Arab Complex - cont.

That caricature, incidentally, is one of the very few "ethnic jokes" still indulged by our cartoonists and stand-up comics. It is somehow considered permissible where comparable jokes are not, and I do not think this is wholly owing to the absence of a big enough Arab-American political constituency to raise hell. There is a dehumanizing, circular process at work here. The caricature dehumanizes. But it is inspired and made acceptable by an earlier dehumanizing influence, namely, an absence of feeling for who the Arabs are and where they have been.

At about the 99th parting-of=the-Red Sea image invoked for the Sadat visit, it occurred to me that our scribes and pundits had nothing but Old Testament lore at hand in the way of historical context for the visit. Between the Bible and the Balfour Declaration, the Arabs are off our radar screen. That is an exaggeration, but not by much. I should probably point out around here that the term "Arab" is widely misused to cover, among other things, all of Islam and all of those (Persians, Greeks, Egyptians, Turks and so on) who ever inhabited the area we now think of as the Middle East. But since we are historically no better informed on any of these than we are on specifically Arab affairs, the distinctions hardly matter. The whole area and its people are off our screen in so far as the past couple of millennia are concerned.

CULTURAL ESTRANGEMENT

This fact contributes greatly to our sense of cultural estrangement and also to our arrogance-neither of which is justified in historical terms. At a time when Western civilization was pretty much going under, Arab scholars were translating, studying and keeping alive much of the classical Greek philosophy and science on which the West was built. But we have more or less excised from our collective consciousness the Middle Eastern connection: the centuries-long supremacy of that part of the world as a center of intellect, commerce and power;the fact that we are, all of us, legatees of Arab and/or Muslim and/or Middle Eastern culture in some respects.

But there is more than an awareness of the historical human reality of the Arabs to be gained by looking in on the past 1,500 years or so of their existence.

To do so is to dispel the ignorant notion, so widespread in this country, that the Jews and the Arabs are settling some ancient score, that their modern-day struggle is merely a twentieth-century incarnation of an intractable religious dispute with roots going deep in to history.

That some pretty grisly episodes between the two took place over the years is not to be denied. Nor, however, is it to be denied that there were prolonged periods after the rise of Islam of extremely good relations or that, all things considered, the Jews tended to prefer the ascendancy of the various Muslim caliphates to that of the Byzantines and crusading Latins. The Al Aksa Mosque where Sadat went to pray in the Old City of Jerusalem is in the area of the most terrible crusader slaughters of Muslims and Jews. There was much in the two peoples' pasts to bring them together.

And there was this historical circumstance; at more or less the same time that the Jews "disappeared" into Europe, the Arabs were overwhelmed by other powers or absorbed into the societies they had dominated so that for (roughly) 500 years-until the beginning of this century-each people was offstage, mingled one way or another in other national cultures. Their nationalistic impulses flowered at the same time, concentrated in the same region, had similar intensities as a consequence of their suffering-different kinds of suffering, but suffering nevertheless. That is the context in which the twentieth-century conflict between Arab and Jew is occurring and the only one in which it can be understood-or resolved. It is also the context in which Sadat proffered his message of reconciliation.

CAN SADAT PREVAIL?

He spoke as a man of the twentieth century. He bore his national and religious heritage with pride and confidence, but without swagger or put-them-to-the-sword rhetoric and posturing. Will he be able to elicit, over the long term, a sufficient response from the Jews? Will he be able to superimpose his own image and restraint on the murderous, reckless rage of some of his fellow Araba? Those are questions that can't be answered yet. But I think it is safe to say that when the plane touched down in Jerusalem, Sadat stepped into American political reality, just as surely as he stepped onto Israeli soil. If he has helped us to see the side he speaks for in the Middle East with more compassion, and in a less sinister, preposterous, Ali Baba way, then I would say the same think I felt upon learning that Sadat was prepared to acknowledge the legitimacy of the Israeli state: about time.

Greenfield, Meg. "Our Ugly-Arab Complex." NEWSWEEK, December 5 1977, p.110.

IMMIGRATION

Specific Group	General Concept (Reason)	Data (Evidence)

IMMIGRATION

Three Teen Years in Pittsburgh, Pa.

UKRAINIAN

When I arrived in the United States in November, 1912, I settled in the steel capital of the country. My uncle, Andrew Movchko, preceded me by three years and was "well established" at the time of my arrival at his address. As the cost of my living accommodations had to be as low as possible, by necessity, I located with him in Gorman Alley, about thirty feet from the Oliver Iron & Steel Co., between 12th and 13th Streets, on the south side of the great industrial section of the city. Needless to say, it was a poor section, but it was kept clean and the alley was paved with bricks and had a cement sidewalk along one side. My uncle, a single man, roomed with several other single men in the home of the Senchik family, who came from the same community in the Ukraine.

The Ukrainian immigrants in the United States, as well as the immigrants of several other east European countries, came from poor peasant surroundings, where often several persons lived in a single room. Therefore upon their arrival in America, for several years, they maintained the same standard by necessity. And since none of them knew any English, they settled in the same ethnic neighborhood, just as Americans do in Paris, Addis Ababa, or other non English-speaking cities. My rooming place was in half of a six-room house: downstairs there were two rooms, a kitchen and a sleeping room that accommodated the landlord and his family; the room upstairs was for the roomers. The kitchen served as a dining room as well as a living room: it had a double bed, a large table, several chairs, and a shelf for the dishes. There was a sink, but no running water - slums had no such luxury in those days. The city water was outdoors and had to be carried in by pail. By the same token, there was no indoor toilet. In the room upstairs there were three double beds to accomodate six roomers; in emergency, a third person had to be crowded in with someone temporarily.

From the village of Strilbychi about fifteen of us boys and girls sailed on the same ship, happily (until some of us got seasick), as if we were going to the next town or to a picnic. One of the men, a little older than the rest of us, was returning to Pittsburgh, and since that was also my destination I stuck very close to him on the entire trip.

IMMIGRATION

Ukrainian - cont.

Only one of this particular group ever returned to the native village to live; also, only one even ever went back for a visit. They became American citizens, and apparently America was good to them. The entire composition of the passengers on this particular steamer to America was Polish and Ukrainian; rarely did we see or meet any other nationality.

We traveled with very little luggage, as a rule an extra shirt or two in a valise, some hankies, and enough food to last one to the harbor in Hamburg, Germany, a trip which took 24 hours by train. The wearing apparel one had was brand new, bought for the purpose of the trip and very often discarded at the end of the voyage as "un-American". In 1912, the entire trip lasted about eight days. None of us carried any gifts from the villagers to relatives now living in America, but it was expected that the latter would remember them with gifts sent through anyone coming back to the village. This practice of sending gifts to relatives by persons returning from America became such a nuisance in the course of time that quite often if anyone planned such a trip, he kept his plans secret.

None of the youngsters had much knowledge about the United States, and very few had any plans beyond the hope of economic self-betterment. They had youth, super energy, and the desire to succeed. Incidentally, the Ukrainians, as well as other Slavic peoples, are very good workers; in fact, they had to be in order to live and to face competition. As a rule, when working for someone else, they worked even harder than when they worked for themselves. Such were the working hands that arrived in America.

Out of nine children in the family, I was the only one to emigrate; and not until my visit home in 1935 did I see any of my family again. This visit was taken during my vacation, the first such vacation I had had in many years, and was a graduation present to myself at the close of my graduate work at the University of Iowa, where I earned the Ph.D. degree.

Let me now go back again to my early days in the U.S. to present another view of Ukrainian immigrant life at the time.

IMMIGRATION

UKRAINIAN - cont.

It was a very pleasant autumnal morning when we immigrants arrived at the Pennsylvania Station in Pittsburgh in 1912, after an all-night ride by train from New York. All had been warned way back in the Ukraine not to have anything to do with the taxis, which in those days were horse-drawn buggies; and since Mr. Kovalchak, our leader, knew the way (he had been in Pittsburgh before), he led by taking a short cut, hiking from the station up the steep steps and walking over the hill several blocks and then down the very steep wooden steps (about 2,000 feet) toward the Tenth Street Bridge on the Monongahela River. We must have been a curious sight, carrying various valises and bundles, and being dressed partly in national costumes and partly in citified attire! Once we crossed the river toward Muriel Street, we were within three blocks of our destination. Mr. Kovalchak had several of us distributed to the addresses we had, for which we youngsters were very thankful.

We found many of our fellow-countrymen from Strilbychi and adjacent villages living in Pittsburgh and not too far away. Many of them paid us a visit, as we, being new arrivals, were a point of curiosity. They came, too, to inquire about their relatives and to learn more than what they had read in their letters. We in turn made it a point to visit the others, to see how they had changed since we last saw them in Europe. Such socializing lasted to the end of the week and then we settled down to the routine of life with the rest of them. As we had arrived in the middle of the week, we soon started to inquire when and where we could find jobs, but were told by friends, the "old Americans", to take it easy the rest of the week, to get rid of our "sea legs" and become acquainted with the city, or to be exact, the south side of it. But "don't go too far away from the house and get lost!" was the warning. Therefore Michael Sorochak and I did some exploring the rest of the week.

The big question in the minds of all the newcomers was the kind of job that would be available, since none of them had had any training outside experience in rather primitive farming. The long-awated Monday morning finally came, and some one took me to Oliver Iron & Steel Co., a subsidiary of the U.S. Steel Co., telling me to stand near the door and wait for a foreman who might come and hire me. Before long, a little fellow about 45 years old approached me and asked in Polish if I wanted a job. At that time I spoke Polish fluently, having studied the language in school, and so had notrouble understanding the welcome question.

My new task was to shovel iron bolts from the floor into iron boxes on benches, to be handled by other boys or men at small machines. It was "daywork", a man's job, and I was paid a man's wage of $1.50 for ten hours of labor. Here I was, a tall, lanky lad of 16, doing a man's work. Fortunately for me, no one asked if I were of school age.

The above-mentioned Polish foreman, named Marcinek, was a tempermental fellow, who for any little thing would denounce a person, or in factory parlance "give him hell". I worked for him several weeks and then transferred to another floor where boys were doing piece-work, and those who hustled earned much more than a cammon laborer. The competitive idea appealed to me as well as the prospect of earning more than a laborer. It took months of trial and error, however, before I sufficiently mastered the machine to speed up my production. I stayed at this job about two and a half years.

After quitting this employment in 1915, two months before going to school in September, I drifted from one little job to another. It was when I was working in a steel plant that along with the other boys I noticed a foreman, big fat Frank, who though born in America spoke his Polish very fluently, had a mean trick of frequently approaching a fellow from the rear and pinching him before saying anything;,too, he had his favorites among the boys and young men that worked for him. To the other workers he was spiteful: If anything went wrong with the machine, they had to wait before a mechanic came to fix it, while Wasyl Matyrklaus got his fixed instantly, so that no time was wasted by him. On one occasion I remarked to Matyrklus that he seemed to be Frank's favorite, to which he replied: "Favorite nothing, I pay for it on payday!" The message was clear: Frank expected and was accepting bribery from the boys on payday. I never succumbed to this practice, and neither did many other boys, though it cost all of us something in not being able to earn as much as we might have otherwise. We earned our money honestly.

The first American national holiday of interest to me was Thanksgiving Day; and as I arrived early in November, I did not have to wait too long for it.

The fact that we did not have to work on that day in itself aroused the curiosity of all of us. I inquired about this holiday, which the immigrants commonly called "Turkey Day", but could not find an adequate explanation. It was next year that the Rev. Dmytro Halenda, a Ukrainian Presbyterian missionary, gave the correct story. Christmas and Easter needed no explanation, but Independence Day called for a long one, because so much of history was involved. However, as I lived in an immigrant surrounding, the full significance of this event did not become part of me for a long time. Later on I thought of it many times, while teaching American History in high schools and college.

For about a year and a half in Pittsburgh my uncle and I were good pals, though he was eight years older than I. He was of medium height, solidly built, and socially very polite and correct, though he never studied Emily Post. Always proper and a man of the highest moral standing, he was highly thought of by everyone who knew him. I was fortunate in being able to associate with him during my formative years. On Sunday afternoons during the summer, when the weather was acceptable, he and I did a lot of hiking, covering nearly the entire city on foot quite adequately. By walking, a person has a chance to observe things and learn about objects of interest. Once we undertook a big project, the climbing of very steep wooden steps, about a mile and a half of them, to the top of the hill at South Side. It was worth the effort, however; the scenery there was interesting, but the view of much of the city was very impressive. At least once each summer we went, by streetcar, to the Highland Park Zoo.

IMMIGRATION

History of Fred Prokop and N. M. Prokop

Fred Prokop came to U S A in 1896. Filed homestead in 1900 proofed in 1906, 40 miles north of Bismarck, No. Dak. at the age of 24. While coming from New York with his brother Mike to Bismarck the train stopped in Fargo. They went outside walking around when the conductor cried everyone on board and not understanding they took the wrong train which got them to Winnepeg, Canada, leaving their baggages, all their belongs, identifications and what little money they had on the train that presumbly went to Bismarck.

While in Winnapeg they were locked in an immigration building for about a week. One day they stole themselves out and started walking to Wilton, N. Dak cross country. Stopped at ranchers to work which took them over two months to get to Wilton. After filing homesteads they built sod houses in spare time while working for various ranchers for the sum of $10.00 per month, when Fred Prokop sent for his wife and two children that arrived in 1900 from the Ukraine, (I was born in 1902 the son of late Fred Prokop). Then he purchased a team of horses and one oxen which was used to plow land sowed into wheat, harvest by hand and thresed by horses and whalers. In 1906 a terrible prarie fire came which burned every thing but the house. The barn was rebuilt out of mud and rock and covered with poles and straw or hay. In 1908 another fire that destroyed all hay, grain and the barn. It was believed that ranchers set the fire to drive the land squatters out. But these pioneers were determined and stayed. Finally the ranchers left. Then the drought and locusts then the World War. After declaration of the war we were rationed on food. Sugar and flour were scarce. After Govenor Wm. Langer got elected he sent out deputies to search farmers for hoarded sugar and flour and grain. We had 300 bushels of wheat that was not marketable. The elevators would not take it because we had a wet fall the year before and the grain was damp and it got molded in the bin. But when Govenor Langer came and saw that which was during harvest time he made us quit the harvest and haul this grain to the elevator which took us, with one wagon, six days. We had 45 bushels of screening left which was almost black with wild buckwheat and cockels, except for a few kernels of small and cracked wheat that we fed hogs with and chickens. Then he came a second time and made us haul that too. So they called that confiscation so we did not get paid.

N. M. Prokop Belfied, NO. Dak. 1970

IMMIGRATION

Important Warnings and Advice for the Italian Immigrant

Take great caution in changing your money, in giving and receiving change until you recognize good money from counterfeit, and until you are expert in counting American money.

Don't buy land in lots and don't accept it even if given to you; because they give only the things that have no value. Don't ever buy passenger tickets on installment.

Distrust the mining enterprises that put notices in the Italian journals. Don't ever buy deeds of enterprises announced in the newspapers. No worker should ever invest money in speculating enterprises. The worker must deposit his own money exclusively in a savings bank. The worker's money is precious; because it was earned by the sweat of his brow.

The Italian, like every other foreigner in the United States, is appreciated when he leads a life which conforms to the American social life. Until he conforms to this he is never treated with respect. Therefore, become part of American society: read American newspapers; take care to adapt to the manners, customs and habits of the Americans. Join the union, to which workers of your trade belong.

Don't ever accept lower salaries than the American workers of your trade make; because accepting lower salaries, you do harm to yourself and to the American workers. Before accepting just any work, be sure that there is no strike going on there and don't ever accept being a scab...

Be proud of your country and of your family. Don't ever change your name, unless it's absolutely necessary to simplify it for English pronunciation. In such a case, don't neglect to ask legal authorization of it.

These pages are taken from the Guide of the United States for the Italian Immigrant, published by the Daughters of the American Revolution in 1913. This selection gives advice to the immigrant on how to be accepted in this new society.

IMMIGRATION

Polish Migration

The month was December, the year 1913 and I was eight and a half years old, when I had my first glimpse of the Statue of Liberty and America. We, my mother, my aunt Weronika and my two brothers, Karol 10 and Jozef 5 years of age, disembarked a large ship, loaded with trunks, wicker hampers and bundles of all description and were ushered to a barn-like building on Ellis Island. Here we stood for hours waiting to have the formalities of our entry to the United States processed. Recently, on television, there was a documentary showing how, at the turn of the century, thousands of immigrants were flooding America. This mass of humanity, poorly dressed, worn and tired with a look of bewilderment in their eyes, reminded me of how we must have looked that cold December day on Ellis Island. My mother and my aunt, I remember, looked ill and haggard from the hardship of travel and sea-sickness.

We embarked at Antwerp and crossed the Atlantic on a Belgian liner, the name of which I do not remember. Before boarding the ship, each passenger had to go through a rigid physical examination. My brothers and I, except for childhood diseases, were healthy children. Despite this, the authorities in Antwerp detained us. They claimed we had some sort of an eye infection which had to be treated. What it was I shall never know. But there we were. Two women and three children stranded in a strange city, speaking only Polish, looking for a place to stay for the duration of our treatments. These consisted of putting medicated drops into our eyes three times a day. How mother secured a room for us I can only speculate. Most likely through some "Travel Aid" society. The room, a very small one, was on the top floor of a five story building. I remember looking out the window and seeing nothing but rooftops, smoking chimneys and misty grey skies. I have never been to a large city and the sight was not a cheerful one. This detainment meant unexpected expense and much frustration for my mother. Luckily, after several days of treatments our eyes were miraculously cured and we were permitted to leave.

At that time Poland, having been partitioned between Russia, Prussia and Austria, was non-existant at least on the map of Europe. Military service in the three countries was compulsory and the Polish boys hated to serve the oppressor.

So that in the next decade, 1882-1895, in Poznania and in West Prussia, the normal population was actually reduced by 41,000. From Prussian Poland the emigration movement spread gradually to Russian Poland, and thence to Galicia. Polish emigration from Galicia does not assume any considerable proportions until the nineties of the last century.

Volume of Polish immigration.--The volume of Polish immigration was greatest in the decade and a half preceding the World War. In 1901-1910 the number of Polish immigrants to the United States was 873,669. For the period 1904-1913 it was 1,009,054. The year 1912-13 was the banner year, bringing 174,365 Polish immigrants. The year 1914 yielded 122,657, and the year 1915 only 9,065.

General causes of Polish immigration.--The general causes of Polish immigration to the United States, according to Mr. Joseph Okolowicz and Prof. L. Caro, both of whom are first-class authorities on this particular subject, are (1) overpopulation of the Polish village by an agricultural proletariat or semi-proletariat; (2) small landholding, primitive agricultural methods, and meager productivity of the soil; (3) insufficient industrial development; (4) low wages; (5) excessive taxation; (6) alcoholism and petty litigations; (7) land-hunger and the difficulty to satify it at home; and (8) emigration propaganda carried on by agents of steamship companies, by representatives of foreign governments and corporations, and by lucky emigrants themselves.

Special causes.--Besides these general causes of Polish emigration to the United States, there were special, immediate causes operating in each section of the country. For instance, the immediate causes of Polish emigration from Prussian Poland in the seventies and eighties were greater economic backwardness of the country at that time, intelligence due to better common school education, linguistic and religious persecution resulting from Bismarck's "Kultur-kampf" policy, and the contagious influence of German emigration. Polish emigration from Russian Poland began in 1876. The immediate causes back of it were a crop failure, a crisis and lockout in the textile industry, throwing hundreds of men out of work, and the introduction of universal military service, in that year. Polish emigration from Galicia seems to have been due largely to the operation of the more general causes and economic conditions enumerated in the above section.

IMMIGRATION

America's Societal Treatment of Ethnic Groups

Group	Racism	Exploitation	Stereotype

ISLAM

1. Gift of Islam. *Film*
2. Glossary of Terms.*
3. The Religions of Man, Huston Smith, or Religions of the World Made Simple, John Lewis. #
4. Four Religions: Islam and Christianity. *Film*

* = Student materials located in this section

# = Needs to be acquired by the school using these teaching units

Film = Films listed in the Cinematic Guide to the Middle East

ISLAM - The Religion and a Comparison with Christianity and Judaism

GLOSSARY

TERMS	GENERAL CHRISTIAN VIEW	JUDAISTIC VIEW	ISLAMIC VIEW
Purpose of existence	To give glory to God, to enjoy a life lived according to Christ's teachings. Religions of Man, pp.315.	To glorify God. To enjoy a life lived according to the Torah.	To glorify God. To experience a life of joy. Koran VI-12, 59, LX vii4.
God	A pure Spirit, all powerful in all ways, creator of all. Genesis I.	Same. Genesis I.	Same. Koran XVI: 3
spirit-soul	The non-material responsible personality of each person.	Same.	Same. Koran IV: III
Heaven	A state of joy in union with God in the afterlife.	Generally Jews do not believe in an afterlife of the soul.	Same as Christian view: Koran xvii: 13
Hell	A state of suffering as punishment for an evil life.	Not recognized in an afterlife.	Same as Christian view: Koran xvii.

GLOSSARY - cont.

TERMS	GENERAL CHRISTIAN VIEW	JUDAISTIC VIEW	ISLAMIC VIEW
Worship	Takes many forms in different Christian groups. Generally a personal recognition of God's power and love. Bible and tradition used.	Daily and Sabbath recognition of God's power and love. It can be both informal and ritualistic.	The five daily calls to worship are very ritualistic. Using a formula of prayer the Moslem faces Mecca wherever he is and recites the prayers.
Morality in human conduct.	Described in the Ten Commandments and Christ's command to love God, neighbor and enemy. Different churches add responsibilities and prohibitions. Deuteronomy 34.10.	Described in the Ten Commandments and Torah and adapted to daily life by Rabbis. See Deuteronomy 34.10.	Also uses Ten Commandments as it's own plus other commands revealed to Muhammed by God.
Church-State Relationship.	Varies. Christ divided world of religion and state, but some states are still officially Christian and the churches are supported by the state.	Differences of opinion. Reform and liberal Jews want a secular state. Orthodox Jews want (in Israel) a strong cooperation of church and state.	Cemented together in orthodox Islam. Many modern Muslims want Secular states.

GLOSSARY - cont.

TERMS	GENERAL CHRISTIAN VIEW	JUDAISTIC VIEW	ISLAMIC VIEW
Sources of religious belief or creed.	Old and New Testataments. Personal interpretation important to Protestants. Teaching of bishops and Popes important to Catholics. Tradition.	Old Testament Torah. Statements by modern Rabbis. Tradition	Koran teachings of Immani. Teachings of different sects. Tradition.
Prophet	A divinely inspired leader who passes on his communication from God to man.	Same.	Same.
Pilgrimage	A visit to a holy place. Some Christians believe miracles may occur to cure illness or that miraculous visions may be seen. Not all Christians accept the idea of pilgrimages. Not required by most sects.	Not required but many devout Jews try to visit the Wailing Wall in Jerusalem and other Jewish holy, historical places.	Required if health and funds allow it: a visit to the Holy Kabah at Mecca.

GLOSSARY - cont.

TERMS	GENERAL CHRISTIAN VIEW	JUDAISTIC VIEW	ISLAMIC VIEW
Fasting	Not eating or drinking fluids or restricting same as a penance or as a discipline to strengthen against other temptation. Not uniformly practiced.	Same. Practiced on some Holy Days as a reminder of suffering of Jews under Moses in Desert.	Practiced during month of Ramadon. No food or drink until sundown. This can occur in summer since Islam has a lunar calendar. Infirm need not fast.
Brotherhood of Man.	A main tenet of Christianity however often ignored. Many Christian groups are active in fighting for social justice.	Jews respect the brotherhood of man but consider themselves set apart by God as a special nation. Jewish opinion is, however, divided on this today. See Religions of Man. pp. 294.	Explicit acceptance of all men as brothers. Christians allowed to practice their faith in early Islamic kingdoms.
Infinite	No limits to power, knowledge, etc.	Same.	Same.

GLOSSARY - cont.

TERMS	GENERAL CHRISTIAN VIEW	JUDAISTIC VIEW	ISLAMIC VIEW
Monotheism	There is one God. Many Christians believe that there are three divine persons: Father, Son and Holy Spirit mysteriously united in the Trinity. One God, Three Persons, Religions of Man, pp. 330.	There is one God. Genesis.	Same as Judaism. Koran XXIX.
Eternity	Timelessness. God is eternal. Souls born in time will live forever according to many Christians.	Timelessness. God is eternal.	Same as Christian belief.
Charity	Love of God and Man. Help to the unfortunate required.	Same.	Same. Two and one-half per cent to direct human need. Based on income and holdings. Poor owe nothing.

GLOSSARY - cont.

TERMS	GENERAL CHRISTIAN VIEW	JUDAISTIC VIEW	ISLAMIC VIEW
Prayer	Individuals speaking to God. Sometimes through Christ and saints. Prayers include pleas for personal favors. Personal and or ritualistic. Prayers are also worshipful, thankful, and pleas for forgiveness. For some Christians prayer is offered by an ordained priesthood. Bible often used. Religions of the World, Made Simple. p. 130.	Individuals speaking to God. Prayer is personal ritualistic. May include prayers of petition, worship, thanksgiving, pleas for mercy. On the Sabbath a Rabbi may assist in leading prayers. Old Testament and Torah often used. Religions of the World, Made Simple. p. 80.	Same as Judaism. Immani or anyone can lead prayers. Koran used often in prayer. Religions of the World, Made Simple. pp. 86-87.
Priesthood	Priests are successors of Apostles with powers of forgiveness and the power to act as a go-between God and man. The Roman Catholic Church is the main church with a priesthood. The Roman Catholic churches hierarchical. Bishops supervise priests and the Pope leads all. Protestants generally hold that each person relate directly to God. Ministers are equal to members.	No intermediary priesthood. Rabbis are advisors to faithful and leaders.	No priesthood.

ISSUES

1. Vocabulary List.*
2. My Enemy, My Brother, James Forman.#
3. Outline--Historical Background.*
4. Arabs and Jews: The Crisis.# *Filmstrip kit*
5. The Arab World: Focus on Diversity, Jane Antoun.#
6. The Disinherited, Fawaz Turki.#

* = Student materials located in this section

# = Needs to be acquired by the school using these teaching units

Film = Films listed in the Cinematic Guide to the Middle East

ISSUES

VOCABULARY LIST

ISSUES UNIT

NAME________________________

HOUR______________

1. Semitic
2. Jew
3. Arab
4. Hebrew
5. Muslim
6. anti-semitic
7. pogrom
8. scapegoat
9. ghetto
10. terrorist
11. Balfour Declaration
12. Zionism
13. feyayeen
14. Palestinian Arab

ISSUES

OUTLINE

I. Historical Background of Ancient Middle East

- A. Both Hebrew and Arabic peoples are Semitic
- B. Religious significance of area to Hebrews

II. Development of the Zionist Movement

- A. Romans disperse most Jews by 135 A.D. Residual number remain in Middle East
- B. Many Jews move into Christian European communities
  - 1. segregated into ghettos
  - 2. discriminated against by occupation
  - 3. pogroms occur at irregular intervals
- C. 1. Theodore Herzl launches Zionist Movement
  - 1. Dreyfus case
  - 2. publishes The Jewish State
  - 3. first Zionist Congress
- D. Balfour Declaration by the British
  - 1. World War I & Rothschild influence
  - 2. sympathy among British politicians
- E. Affect of Nazi Germany
  - 1. discrimination against Jews in the 1930s.
  - 2. Hitler's concentration camps and "final solution"
- F. Post W.W.II
  - 1. Attempt by British to stop immigration and keep word to Arabs, i.e. camps on Cyprus
  - 2. Jewish terrorists groups, Irgun and Stern gang oppose British
  - 3. Britain gives problem to U.N.
  - 4. United Nations partitions Palestine, 1947
  - 5. 1948 war
  - 6. 1956 war
  - 7. 1967 war
  - 8. 1973 war

III. Arabic nationalism in the Middle East

- A. Conquest of the area by Arabs in 637 A.D.
- B. Later conquest by the Turks
- C. British conquest of the area W.W.I. Their treatment of Arabs

ISSUES

OUTLINE - cont.

D. Rising Arab nationalism
  1. conflict with Jewish immigration 1920s
  2. Promises made by the British to the Arab community
    a. during W.W.I
    b. in 1939, limiting immigration and fixing population ratio
  3. Post W.W.II
    a. Jewish terrorist groups against British and Arabs
    b. 1948 war - see map of partition
    c. 1956 war
    d. 1967 war
    e. 1973 war

E. Formation of the Palestine Liberation Organization
F. Conflict within the Arab world
  a. Jordan vs. Palestinians, 1970
  b. Palestinian living conditions
G. Effectiveness of terrorists
H. Palestinian living conditions
I. Palestinian feelings